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Committee on Un-American Activities
House
86th Congress

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COMMUNIST TRAINING OPERATIONS

PART 2

(Communist Activities and Propaganda Among
Youth Groups)

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UC 710 2.791

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

EIGHTY-SIXTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

FEBRUARY 2 AND 3, 1960

Printed for the use of the Committee on Un-American Activities

(INDEX IN PART 3)

(CORRECTED COPY)



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WASHINGTON : 1960

COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

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PUBLIC LAW 601, 79TH CONGRESS

The legislation under which the House Committee on Un-American Activities operates is Public Law 601, 79th Congress [1946], chapter 753, 2d session, which provides:

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, * * **

PART 2—RULES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

RULE X

SEC. 121. STANDING COMMITTEES

* * * * *
17. Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine Members.

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

* * * * *
(q) (1) Committee on Un-American Activities.

(A) Un-American activities.

(2) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (i) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (ii) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (iii) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

* * * * *

RULE XII

LEGISLATIVE OVERSIGHT BY STANDING COMMITTEES

SEC. 136. To assist the Congress in appraising the administration of the laws and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary, each standing committee of the Senate and the House of Representatives shall exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of any laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of such committee; and, for that purpose, shall study all pertinent reports and data submitted to the Congress by the agencies in the executive branch of the Government.

RULES ADOPTED BY THE 86TH CONGRESS

House Resolution 7, January 7, 1959

RULE X

STANDING COMMITTEES

1. There shall be elected by the House, at the commencement of each Congress,

(q) Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine Members.

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

18. Committee on Un-American Activities.

(a) Un-American activities.

(b) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (1) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (2) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (3) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

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26. To assist the House in appraising the administration of the laws and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary, each standing committee of the House shall exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of any laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of such committee; and, for that purpose, shall study all pertinent reports and data submitted to the House by the agencies in the executive branch of the Government.

SYNOPSIS

The instant hearings on Communist Training Operations (Communist Activities and Propaganda Among Youth Groups), Parts 2 and 3, are a continuation of hearings on the subject matter which were held on July 21 and 22, 1959.*

In opening the hearings on the second part of Communist training operations, the chairman of the committee stated:

In pursuing the general subject matter further in these current hearings which begin today, we shall explore first some of the history and background of Communist penetration of youth groups. Then we shall survey typical Communist propaganda publications, which are entering this country destined to schools and colleges and other centers of learning with the objective of softening up and conditioning the minds of youth.

Tomorrow we shall receive the testimony of a witness who has recently broken from one of the Communist youth operations in the United States, from whom we expect to learn significant information on the current pattern of the Communist designs on youth. We will, likewise, tomorrow endeavor to elicit information, either directly or indirectly, from persons who, we have reason to believe, are currently ringleaders in Communist activities among certain youth groups.

On Thursday and Friday we shall receive the testimony from three or four fine young Americans who attended the Communist-controlled Youth Festival held at Vienna this past summer. These young people attended the festival at considerable personal sacrifice and at some physical risk, in order to gain information which will be unfolded on our public record. We shall also interrogate a few of the youths who, we have information, attended the festival as part of their services to international communism.

I know that this committee's investigation in this area will probably precipitate a barrage from the Communist press and from Communist sympathizers characterizing our work as an investigation of youth. The Communists know as well as we do that the overwhelming majority of the young people of this Nation are of unquestioned patriotism and dedication to all that is good and noble in our society. But by equating an investigation of Communist activities among youth with an investigation of youth itself, the Communists and their sympathizers hope to becloud the issues.

*See "Communist Training Operations, Part 1," hearings before Committee on Un-American Activities, July 21 and 22, 1959.

This, of course, is an old trick which the Communists repeatedly use. When this committee investigates Communist activities in defense plants, the smoke screen that the Communists use is that we are investigating organized labor. When we investigate Communist activities in an educational institution, it is protested by the Communists that we are investigating education. I am sure that the overwhelming majority of the American people readily see through this fraud, and it shall not dissuade us from our task.

* * * * *

A few moments ago I stated that the overwhelming majority of the young people of this Nation are of unquestioned patriotism and dedication to all that is good and noble in our society. This fact, however, must not beguile us into feeling that because the Communist infiltrators among our youth are numerically in a minority, their threat is necessarily insignificant. Time and time again, our committee has pointed out that the strength of the Communist movement in any of its ramifications bears little relationship to the number of its members; that instead, its strength and effectiveness is, as I remarked previously, in direct ratio to the intensity of the efforts of the few who are trained and disciplined agents.

Herbert A. Philbrick, of Rye Beach, New Hampshire, a former undercover agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation serving in the Communist Party, testifying on the basis of his extensive experience in Communist activities among youth groups, stated that although youth has always occupied a top position as a target of the Communists, because of the so-called relaxations of tensions between the free and Communist worlds "the Reds feel that they are in a very favorable position for a new drive on young people." Mr. Philbrick asserted that the over-all purpose of Communist-front youth organizations "was to strengthen the position of the Soviet Union and to weaken the position of the United States, to break down, if possible, the loyalties of young people, their respect, their regard for their own nation, their own country, their own background, their own heritage."

In discussing the role of a Communist-front organization as a transmission belt for Communist propaganda, Mr. Philbrick stated:

* * * In other words, the Communists knew at that time that perhaps very few of the young people would be vulnerable to direct appeals by the Communist Party itself.

They knew, for example, that if a leaflet or a booklet or a pamphlet were to be given to the young person and it was clearly and accurately labeled Communist Party, they might tend to disregard it or perhaps not to believe it. However, if they were to take the same propaganda written at Communist Party headquarters, take off the label "Communist Party" and put on a new label, such as "American Youth for Democracy," this, they hoped, would sufficiently disguise the subversive propaganda and the material would be accepted. The Communists called these organizations transmission belts. That is not my term. That is their term.

"The number of actual Communist youth among the young people has always been a very tiny minority," Mr. Philbrick said. He continued:

For example, when I first joined the Cambridge Youth Council, I had no way, at that time, of knowing who the Communists were and who the dupes were.

It later developed that the Communist criminal conspiracy controlled that organization, the Cambridge Youth Council, composed of 350 or more young people, controlled it completely with only three secret members of the Communist apparatus.

* * * * *

* * * after I joined the Communist apparatus, I was specifically ordered and instructed by the Communist bosses not to reveal my membership to any of the young people with whom we were working. In fact, I was further ordered that if I were challenged as a Communist, if I were charged with being a member of the Communist apparatus, I was to deny that I was or ever had been a member of the Communist apparatus.

In regard to the techniques used by Communist agents working among youth, Mr. Philbrick testified:

Well, they are able to create it first and foremost, of course, by the lack of information upon the part of the young people themselves. As we said before, very few colleges, schools, or universities are providing our young people with any information at all concerning communism or their appeals or their techniques.

Secondly, the Communists know that young people have a high regard for free speech, for civil liberties, for all of the other great and wonderful things that this country stands for and certainly we can be proud of the fact that we live in a country which enjoys a greater measure of freedom than any other nation in the world.

The Communists know, therefore, that our decent young people are sincerely concerned about the preservation of free speech, civil liberties, and our other guarantees under our Constitution.

By propagandizing among the young people, by telling them and by implying to them that this committee or other Government committees are a threat to their free speech, they know that immediately the young person is going to respond.

Mr. Philbrick referred in his testimony to current articles in known Communist publications which reveal the present drive by the Communist conspiracy among youth. Mr. Philbrick likewise quoted excerpts from a report delivered to the National Committee of the Communist Party in April 1959 by Hyman Lumer, educational director of the party, respecting current designs of the Communists on American youth.

The draft resolution of the National Committee of the Communist Party convention held in December 1959, Mr. Philbrick continued, gives further evidence of the Communist activity among youth.

Commenting on the Aesopian language of the Communist Party particularly in its efforts to penetrate youth groups, Mr. Philbrick testified:

* * * When the Communists, for example, speak of the sharp struggle for peace, democracy, and security, what they really mean, of course, is the struggle on the part of the Soviet Union to win, to be victorious over the free world. The struggle for peace, democracy, and security, when translated into ordinary language, means the struggle for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the United States. When they speak of the democratic movements of youth, they, of course, do not mean democratic movements. They mean a totalitarian movement.

They say, again continuing with the quote, "Groups of youth interested in Marxist study and action have appeared in a number of cities among college students, teen-agers, and other youth."

When they talk about Marxist study groups, they mean, of course, Marxist indoctrination groups, and it is interesting to note that the Communists are here bragging that these Marxist indoctrination groups have been formed among college students, teen-agers, and other young people.

"But," they say, "this new upsurge is still evidenced unevenly, in a great variety of forms on a variety of issues and in a variety of geographical areas." Therefore, they go on throughout the resolution to urge ways and means to correct this "uneven" work among the youth in this country and finally, they say:

The incoming National Committee—

(which would be the incoming National Committee of the Communist apparatus)—

within a period of no more than 30 days after the adjournment of this convention, shall appoint a full-time director of youth affairs and establish a functioning national commission on youth affairs composed of youth and adult members. This commission, amongst other things, shall issue a regular national party youth bulletin. We urge that in a brief period of time those state committees which have not done so, shall establish political and organizational responsibility for youth affairs.

In concluding his testimony, Mr. Philbrick, in recognition of the fact that the overwhelming majority of American youth are loyal and patriotic, expressed this word of advice:

* * * I would, first of all, suggest that our loyal young people support this committee in its efforts to make the truth be known because there is one thing that the Communist Party fears more than anything else, and that is the truth. They know they cannot survive if the truth were known. Hence, it is important that this committee and other investigating committees constantly procure and obtain the truth and make known the facts about communism and Communist activity in our country. Therefore, young people should support the work of this committee and of the congressmen who give so much of their time to it.

Secondly, our young people should demand that their schools and colleges provide them with information about communism. This is not being done now. There are very few schools and colleges which have adequate courses concerning communism. This they should demand because it is impossible for them (or for anyone) to fight an enemy unless they know their enemy. Third, of course, our young people should not only be aware of the great crisis that we are in today, the worldwide crisis, the threat that communism poses against all of the free peoples and all of the free world, but they should also diligently study, learn, and come to appreciate the wonderful heritage, the great things of value which we have to protect and defend in this country.

If they come to truly understand the value of the heritage given to us, bequeathed to us, I am sure that then they will realize the vital importance of defending and maintaining the wonderful freedom we have in this Nation and to fight against the subversive activities of the Communist apparatus.

Andrew Ilyinsky, of New York City, an employee of the Bureau of Customs of the United States Treasury Department, displayed to the committee samples of typical Communist propaganda periodicals published abroad and sent into the United States destined to student groups in schools and colleges. Mr. Ilyinsky stated that every school and college in the United States is directly or indirectly the recipient of some of these Communist propaganda publications. A spot check of the volume of Communist propaganda destined to schools and colleges in the United States was made over a 12-month period in 1959 by the Bureau of Customs, Mr. Ilyinsky stated. The result of the spot check showed that at least 300,000 packages of Communist propaganda destined to schools and colleges in the United States were processed through the port of New Orleans during this 12-month period and that from 5 to 15 separate publications were contained in each package. Mr. Ilyinsky further stated that the port of New Orleans, where the spot check was made, is one of the lesser ports of entry from the standpoint of Communist propaganda and that a heavier volume of this material is coming into the United States via approximately 40 other ports of entry.

There are two major international Communist-controlled youth organizations, the World Federation of Democratic Youth and the International Union of Students, Mr. Ilyinsky stated. The World Federation of Democratic Youth was founded in London in November 1945. It was convened, he continued, on the initiative of Communists and Communist-controlled delegations from 63 countries who allegedly represent 30 million people.

The International Union of Students, Mr. Ilyinsky stated, was founded in Prague, Czechoslovakia, in August 1946.

Both of these major international Communist-controlled youth organizations publish at least 40 periodicals which are disseminated regularly in schools and colleges over the world, including the United States, Mr. Ilyinsky testified. None of these publications bears labeling as Communist propaganda in accordance with the requirements of the Foreign Agents Registration Act, he stated.

Mr. Ilyinsky concluded his testimony by observing that the Communists have devised a "pen pal movement" for the purpose of dis-

seminating the Communist Party line on a person-to-person basis over the world.

In addition to his testimony, Mr. Ilyinsky transmitted to the committee a report, which appears in the appendix and which was prepared at the request of the Committee on Un-American Activities, entitled "The Communist-Directed International Youth Movement."

Albert Gaillard, of New York City, 20 years of age, testified that from January 1957 until August 1959 he was a member of the Communist Party and served as president of the Harlem Youth Congress, which was established and controlled by Communists. Mr. Gaillard testified that, as a member of the Communist Party and as president of the Harlem Youth Congress, he collaborated with Jesse Gray, regional organizer of the Communist Party in Harlem; Herbert Williams, a member of the Communist Party; Ben Davis, chairman of the New York State Communist Party; and Hunter Pitts O'Dell, a member of the Communist Party. Mr. Gaillard also identified as persons known by him to be members of the Communist Party, Alan McGowan, Jacob Rosen, Freeman Robinson, Joanne Grant, Paul Robeson, Jr., Marvin Markman, and Carla Reeve.

Mr. Gaillard detailed the activities of the Harlem Youth Congress and of Communists who worked in other youth groups in New York City. He described his experiences in an underground movement to organize Negro youth in the South. Mr. Gaillard, himself a Negro, testified respecting the deceit and duplicity of the Communist Party in its pretense to champion the interests of the Negro people as follows:

When I first joined the Communist Party everyone knows mostly, the Negro people who have joined the Communist Party and after they find out about the party they finally break away from the party. I went into the party with the idea that the Communist Party was the solution to the Negro people's problem, but as my experience in the Communist Party I find out that the Communist Party wasn't a party for the Negro people, that the Communist Party have one of the worst discriminations in their own party themselves.

If the Communist Party can use the Negro people as a tool and use them for their own advantage, the Communist Party don't give a darn about the Negro people themselves, and I also witnessed discrimination in the party. If something happened to the Negro people, the Communist Party they would be the first ones to jump up and say "We must do this and we must do that." And then if the Communist Party find out they see whereupon the Government of this country changed things around and worked the things in the favor of the Negro people, it seems like the Communist Party they get sad and they want to drop the issue altogether. In other words, the Communist Party want to see the things really keep on happening to the Negro people so they can use this as a weapon to try to rally the masses of the Negro people around the Communist Party.

In the course of his testimony Mr. Gaillard stated that on the very morning on which he was to appear before the committee he was approached by Jesse Gray, whom he had known as a member of the

Communist Party, and that Jesse Gray urged him to invoke the fifth amendment and not to testify against the Communist Party; that Jesse Gray stated, "If you don't take the fifth you will be in pretty bad shape in the Harlem community, I will have leaflets out."

Jesse Gray, of New York City, who had been identified as a member of the Communist Party by Albert Gaillard, testified that his occupation was executive director of the Lower Harlem Tenants Council. When questioned respecting the comments which Mr. Gaillard stated Mr. Gray had made to him on the morning of the hearings, he at first said, "I had no conversation with Mr. Gaillard," but thereafter he invoked the fifth amendment regarding the incident. Mr. Gray likewise invoked the fifth amendment when asked if he were a member of the Communist Party up to the morning of the hearing, but denied that he was a member of the Communist Party during the very moments of his testimony.

Hunter Pitts O'Dell, of New York City, who had been identified as a member of the Communist Party by Albert Gaillard, testified that his occupation was a life underwriter. He declined to answer all questions respecting his Communist Party membership or activities on the ground that his answers might tend to incriminate him.

Benjamin Davis, Jr., of New York City, who is national secretary of the Communist Party of the United States, and who was identified by Albert Gaillard as the principal directing force of the Harlem Youth Congress, testified in response to a subpoena which was served upon him. He refused to answer any questions respecting his activities as a Communist by first vilifying the committee and then invoking the fifth amendment against self-incrimination.

Leroy Wolins appeared in response to a subpoena and stated that he lived in Chicago, Illinois, but he would not disclose his occupation on the ground, among others, that to do so would incriminate him. There were displayed to Mr. Wolins a series of passport applications signed by himself and articles respecting his participation in the Youth Festival in Moscow in 1957. Mr. Wolins was also confronted with committee information that he had received approximately \$500 from the Soviet Embassy in Washington for the purpose of promoting the Youth Festival delegation which was sent to Vienna during the summer of 1959. He refused to answer all questions on the subject matter, as well as whether he was currently a member of the Communist Party, on the ground, among others, that his answers might incriminate him.

Jacob Rosen, of New York City, a student at the City College of New York, who had been identified as a member of the Communist Party by Albert Gaillard, appeared in response to a subpoena. There was displayed to Mr. Rosen an article from the New York Times of July 30, 1957, respecting his participation in a youth festival in Moscow in which he was reported to have carried the United States flag and to have dipped it in salute to Nikita Khrushchev at the Lenin Stadium. In response to all questions, including a query regarding his present membership in the Communist Party, Mr. Rosen invoked the fifth amendment against self-incrimination.

Fred Jerome, of New York City, appeared in response to a subpoena. He refused to give a direct answer to questions respecting his connection with a certain youth organization in New York City—in-

stead, Jerome launched into a typical Communist attack upon the credibility of a preceding witness.

Herbert Romerstein, of New York City, testified that from 1947 to 1949 he was a member of the Communist Party; that since his break with the Communist Party he has maintained an interest in Communist activities among youth organizations; and that in order to acquire information respecting Communist activities among youth groups, he attended the Vienna Youth Festival held in the summer of 1959 in Vienna, Austria. Mr. Romerstein testified that two international Communist organizations, the World Federation of Democratic Youth, with its offices in Hungary, and the International Union of Students, with its offices in Czechoslovakia, set up an International Preparatory Committee to run the Vienna Youth Festival. Mr. Romerstein stated that most of the "youth" in charge of the international apparatus were in their forties and that the American representative to the International Preparatory Committee was Holland Roberts, a 60-year-old Communist "youth."

Mr. Romerstein stated that there were two organizing committees in the United States for the Vienna Youth Festival. One was the United States Festival Committee with headquarters in New York, which was run by Joanne Grant and Marvin Markman. The other was called American Youth Festival Organization with headquarters in Chicago.

With regard to the festival itself in Vienna, Mr. Romerstein stated that the international Communist agents at no time allowed the Communist young people to have a voice; that the delegates from behind the Iron Curtain and from Red China were carefully controlled and shepherded by the Communists in order that they would not be in direct contact with non-Communists from the free world; and that the young Communists from the free world spoke against the United States and distributed anti-American propaganda.

Charles Wiley, of New York City, a research specialist on communism, who attended the Seventh World Youth Festival at Vienna in the summer of 1959, testified respecting the control exercised by international Communist agents at the festival and the violence inflicted by Communist hoodlums on non-Communist youth participants. Mr. Wiley stated that, with the exception of a very few of the American youth who attended the festival, even the non-Communist Americans were out-manuevered by the Communists because they were not trained to cope with Communist tactics. Mr. Wiley described his experiences in Soviet Russia, where he visited immediately after the adjournment of the Vienna Youth Festival and in which the delegation was taken on "guided tours."

Joseph Charles Jones, a student at Johnson C. Smith University, Charlotte, North Carolina, testified that he attended the Seventh World Youth Festival in Vienna in the summer of 1959; that Paul Robeson, Jr., spoke at the festival, purporting to represent the Americans in attendance and pursued the Communist Party line, but did not reveal that he was a member of the Communist Party.

Paul Robeson, Jr., of New York City, who had been identified as a member of the Communist Party by Albert Gaillard, appeared in response to a subpoena. There was displayed to Mr. Robeson a photostatic reproduction of a passport application signed by him in 1958 in which he failed to answer questions regarding his Communist

Party membership, but pursuant to which a passport was nevertheless issued to him. Mr. Robeson was asked, "On the date on which you filed this application for a passport, which, according to this document which you have identified, was October 21, 1958, were you on that day a member of the Communist Party?"

He replied:

The Supreme Court ruled very clearly before then that the State Department or nobody has any right to ask on a passport application any questions about political associations or being a member of anything. So I was perfectly within my legal rights, and I think it is a disgrace to invade political beliefs on a passport application.

* * * * *

I am going to decline to answer that question on several grounds, and I want to state the grounds.

In the course of his extensive declination, Mr. Robeson refused to answer on the ground, among others, that his answer might incriminate him. He likewise refused to affirm or deny the testimony of Albert Gaillard respecting his membership in the Communist Party and the testimony of other witnesses respecting his activities at the Youth Festival, basing his declination on the ground, among others, that his answer might incriminate him.

Alan Hugh McGowan, of New York City, who had been identified by Albert Gaillard as a member of the Communist Party, appeared in response to a subpoena and stated that he was a student at Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute. There were displayed to Mr. McGowan a number of photographs taken at the Vienna Youth Festival in which he appeared, and there was read to Mr. McGowan the testimony of Charles Wiley that an international Communist agent had directed McGowan "to break up the meeting and walk out" at Vienna, but Mr. McGowan refused to answer any questions on the subject matter or whether or not he was a current member of the Communist Party on the ground, among others, that his answers might incriminate him.

Joanne Alileen Grant, of New York City, who was identified as a member of the Communist Party by Albert Gaillard, testified that she was a secretary working for the delegation of India to the United Nations. There were displayed to Miss Grant documents revealing that she had served as executive secretary of the United States Festival Committee in New York City. There was likewise displayed to Miss Grant an article from CALL, a publication of July 1959, revealing that the Beryozka dancers from Soviet Russia participated in some fund-raising affairs in the United States to raise money to send people to the Vienna Youth Festival and that she had stated that Nicolai Burov, secretary of the Soviet U.N. Mission, aided in getting the dancers for the fund-raising affairs. Miss Grant was interrogated about the organization and control of the "Youth Against the House Un-American Activities Committee." In response to all questions respecting the foregoing, Miss Grant declined to answer on the ground, among others, that her answers might incriminate herself.

Julius Szentendrey, secretary general of the Association of Hungarian Students in North America, testified that he attended the Seventh World Youth Festival in Vienna in the summer of 1959 because, as a former freedom fighter in the Hungarian revolution, he had

seen communism in action and wanted to help "by sharing my experience with others, so that other naive people who came from the so-called non-Communist nations and did not have any firsthand experience with Soviet tactics could really be enlightened."

Mr. Szentendrey stated that the Communist young people at the festival were not permitted to mingle freely with the anti-Communists; that instead they were rigorously controlled by the hierarchy of the Communist apparatus. In the course of his testimony Mr. Szentendrey vividly portrayed the terror of communism in action as he had experienced it in his native Hungary before he was forced to flee immediately after the Hungarian revolution. In concluding his testimony, Mr. Szentendrey stated:

I think I should say that communism has a face which it likes to show outside, and then it has its own practice of dealing with people and dealing with their countries it has occupied. In this second aspect it is very dangerous for all the human rights and the public freedoms—freedom of speech, religion, the church, and everything else.

The Communist dictatorship is a dictatorship by a small minority of the people over the whole nation, and they do not have any contact. They have allegiance only to the Communists and the Communist Party.

Marvin Markman, of New York City, who had been identified as a member of the Communist Party by Albert Gaillard, appeared in response to a subpoena. There were displayed to Mr. Markman a copy of a letterhead in which his name appears as chairman of the United States Festival Committee for the Seventh World Youth Festival and a copy of a passport application executed by him in October of 1958 in which he failed to answer questions respecting membership in the Communist Party. Mr. Markman was also confronted with the testimony of Mr. Charles Wiley, Herbert Romerstein, and Joseph Charles Jones respecting his activities and contacts in Vienna with international Communist agents. In response to all questions, Mr. Markman refused to answer on the ground, among others, that his answers might incriminate him.

Stephen Tyler, of New York City, testified that he is a free-lance writer who attended the Youth Festival in Moscow in 1957. Mr. Tyler described the use made by the Communists for propaganda purposes of the festival and the use made by the Communists of festivals for the purpose of converting non-Communists to communism. Mr. Tyler also detailed his experiences in Red China, where he visited as part of a youth delegation under Communist auspices in 1957. He stated that the delegation was conducted on guided tours but that he was able to perceive the absolute control exercised by the Communist apparatus over the lives of its subjects.

COMMITTEE FINDINGS

It is clear from the testimony that the Harlem Youth Congress and the Youth Against the House Un-American Activities Committee are organizations created and controlled by the Communist Party for the purpose of carrying on the Communist program among youth.

COMMUNIST TRAINING OPERATIONS

Part 2

(Communist Activities and Propaganda Among Youth Groups)

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 2, 1960

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D.C.

PUBLIC HEARINGS

A subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to call, at 10:00 a.m., in the Caucus Room, Old House Office Building, Washington, D.C., Hon. Francis E. Walter (chairman) presiding.

Subcommittee members: Representatives Francis E. Walter, chairman, Pennsylvania; Clyde Doyle, California; Edwin E. Willis, Louisiana; Donald L. Jackson, California; and Gordon H. Scherer, Ohio.

Committee members present during hearings: Representatives Walter; Doyle; Moulder, Missouri; Willis; Tuck, Virginia; Scherer; Miller, New York; and Johansen, Michigan. (Appearances as noted.)

Staff members present: Richard Arens, staff director; Donald T. Appell and Robert H. Goldsborough, investigators.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will be in order.

Are you ready to proceed, Mr. Arens?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. In opening these hearings on Communist activities and propaganda among youth groups, I should like to make a brief background statement. Last July this committee conducted public hearings here in Washington on Communist training operations.¹ In opening those hearings, I stated that the success of the Communist conspiracy in any of its operations is in direct ratio to the intensity of the efforts by trained, disciplined Communist agents who, compared to the number of free people, are always relatively few, though they now number a worldwide fifth column of some 33,000,000. At that time I pointed out that a first step in making a dedicated Communist is often the subtle indoctrination of students by individual Communists who are employed as teachers in non-Communist educational institutions; that beyond this, the Communist conspiracy has two principal organized training operations, the first of which consists of schools, forums and courses designed to soften up and condition the students. The second of these operations is the training program of the hard-core cadre.

During the hearings last July, we received the testimony of a former top-ranking member of the Communist Party, Frank S. Meyer, who had served for a number of years in Communist educational work.

¹ See "Communist Training Operations, Part 1," hearings before the Committee on Un-American Activities, July 21 and 22, 1959.

Mr. Meyer carefully traced what he described as three phases of Communist training; namely, public agitation and propaganda, the molding of hard-core Communists, and interparty training schools. During the course of the hearings, we received evidence clearly revealing current Communist training operations in each of these three phases.

In pursuing the general subject matter further in these current hearings which begin today, we shall explore first some of the history and background of Communist penetration of youth groups. Then we shall survey typical Communist propaganda publications, which are entering this country destined to schools and colleges and other centers of learning with the objective of softening up and conditioning the minds of youth.

(At this point, Mr. Doyle entered the hearing room.)

The CHAIRMAN. Tomorrow we shall receive the testimony of a witness who has recently broken from one of the Communist youth operations in the United States, from whom we expect to learn significant information on the current pattern of the Communist designs on youth. We will, likewise, tomorrow endeavor to elicit information, either directly or indirectly, from persons who, we have reason to believe, are currently ringleaders in Communist activities among certain youth groups.

On Thursday and Friday we shall receive the testimony from three or four fine young Americans who attended the Communist-controlled Youth Festival held at Vienna this past summer. These young people attended the festival at considerable personal sacrifice and at some physical risk, in order to gain information which will be unfolded on our public record. We shall also interrogate a few of the youths who, we have information, attended the festival as part of their services to international communism.

I know that this committee's investigation in this area will probably precipitate a barrage from the Communist press and from Communist sympathizers characterizing our work as an investigation of youth. The Communists know as well as we do that the overwhelming majority of the young people of this Nation are of unquestioned patriotism and dedication to all that is good and noble in our society. But by equating an investigation of Communist activities among youth with an investigation of youth itself, the Communists and their sympathizers hope to becloud the issues. This, of course, is an old trick which the Communists repeatedly use. When this committee investigates Communist activities in defense plants, the smoke screen that the Communists use is that we are investigating organized labor. When we investigate Communist activities in an educational institution, it is protested by the Communists that we are investigating education.

(At this point, Mr. Willis entered the hearing room.)

The CHAIRMAN. I am sure that the overwhelming majority of the American people readily see through this fraud, and it shall not dissuade us from our task.

In that connection, I have here circulars which have been distributed by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.

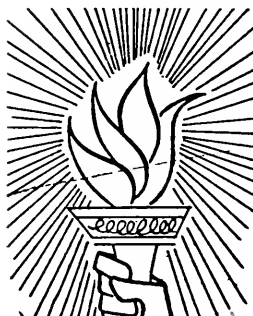
The first circular concerns the appropriation made by the Congress to this committee.

It is very significant to note that the appropriation was made without a dissenting vote. Not one single member of the Congress opposed the appropriation.

Then the second circular that this Communist-front is circulating has to do with these hearings.
(The circulars follow:)

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 1

CONGRESS AND YOUR RIGHTS



This information is sent to you by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee
Send your news and suggestions to either 421 Seventh Avenue,
New York 1, N.Y. or Box 1275, Washington 13, D.C.

Vol. II No. 1

January 4, 1960

This week the second session of the 86th Congress began. Many threatening bills made headway in the first session, and there will be a serious attempt to turn them into law during the next few months.

ALL OF US WHO BELIEVE IN FREEDOM MUST BE ALERT

AND ACT ! !

One of the first matters to be considered in the House of Representatives will be the annual request for over \$300,000. by the Un-American Activities Committee.

Last year a few Congressmen had the courage to oppose that appropriation.

LET YOUR CONGRESSMAN HEAR FROM YOU SOON.

During 1959, the Committee held nine hearings, and learned nothing that could be useful for legislative purposes. Their chief activity was blacklisting, which they have no constitutional right to do, as you will see from the enclosed copy of a very fine pamphlet by Irving Brant - "Congressional Investigations and Bills of Attainder."

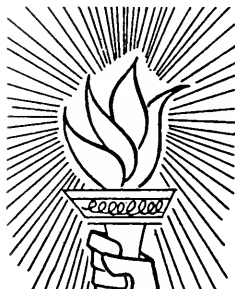
Yours sincerely,

Clark Foreman
Clark Foreman
Director

CF:fl
enclosure

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 2

CONGRESS AND YOUR RIGHTS



This information is sent to you by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee
Send your news and suggestions to either 421 Seventh Avenue,
New York 1, N.Y. or Box 1275, Washington 13, D.C.

Vol. II No. 3

January 21, 1960

\$327,000.00 MORE ! !

As feared, the Administration Committee pushed through a recommendation of \$327,000. for the Un-American Activities Committee on Wednesday morning, January 20th, and that very afternoon, as an "emergency measure", in a surprise move got unanimous consent in the House and passed the appropriation.

The "emergency" was evidently the pressure from the country not to grant the appropriation.

The committee's first raid on your rights in this session of Congress will be directed at students who attended youth festivals last summer or the summer before. The dates, February 2, 3 and 4th in Washington, have apparently been selected to make it as difficult as possible for students to organize resistance - because of exams and end of semester recess.

The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee has issued a press release on the situation, and has sent the following telegram to Speaker Sam Rayburn:

"Urgently request you to cancel hearings announced for February in Washington by Un-American Activities Committee in which students who attended youth festivals abroad will be subjected to harassment and blacklisting. Such treatment of our youth threatens their interest in peace, jeopardizes their education and violates their constitutional rights."

WE URGE YOU TO GIVE ALL POSSIBLE HELP TO THE STUDENTS
WHO ARE BEING SUBJECTED TO THIS UNCONSTITUTIONAL
HARASSMENT BY THE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE

..oooOooo..

The CHAIRMAN. J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, commented recently respecting the proceedings of the 17th National Convention of the United States Communist Party held in New York City, December 10-13, 1959, as follows:

Youth

If for a moment any American considers the Communists to be blind to opportunity, let him consider this vile tactic which came out of the 17th national convention:

It is obvious to the Communists that, if its party is to survive, it must attract the youth of this Nation. As newspapers and other media reveal almost daily, many of America's juveniles are in a state of upheaval—adult authority and morality have been spurned to the point where juvenile arrests in this country in 1958 increased 8 percent over the preceding year.

During the convention, an Illinois Communist took note of the juvenile delinquency situation and proposed that if "we" provide them with a place to go and with activities, they will not be so delinquent; "we" [the Communists] can move them in a positive direction.

What can be more despicable or dangerous to our democracy than this sort of Red Pied Piper trickery?

Education

Discussing the role of the Communist Party in formal education, Mr. Hoover added:

The Communist Party remains deeply interested in the American college student. At a press conference, Gus Hall was asked if the party had made any inroads among college students. He replied that the party had made gains in this field, adding that there has been a change in the thinking of college students toward "nonconformity." Hall added that he based this comment on the fact that a number of requests have been received from colleges for speakers.

A few moments ago I stated that the overwhelming majority of the young people of this Nation are of unquestioned patriotism and dedication to all that is good and noble in our society. This fact, however, must not beguile us into feeling that because the Communist infiltrators among our youth are numerically in a minority, their threat is necessarily insignificant. Time and time again, our committee has pointed out that the strength of the Communist movement in any of its ramifications bears little relationship to the number of its members; that instead, its strength and effectiveness is, as I remarked previously, in direct ratio to the intensity of the efforts of the few who are trained and disciplined agents.

At this point in our proceedings today, let there be inserted in the record the resolution of the Committee on Un-American Activities authorizing and directing the holding of these hearings, together with the designation of the members, by myself as chairman, who shall constitute the subcommittee for the purpose of conducting this hearing.

(The resolution and designation follow:)

JANUARY 13, 1960.

It was unanimously agreed that hearings by the Committee on Un-American Activities, or a subcommittee thereof, be held in Washington, D.C., or at such other places as the Chairman may determine, and on such date or dates as the Chairman may fix, including the conduct of investigations deemed necessary by the staff in preparation therefor, relating to:

(A) Communist propaganda and techniques used in influencing youth and youth organizations on local, national, and international levels, with special reference to propaganda material entering this country from Soviet bloc countries, events leading up to and occurring during the Seventh World Youth Festival held at Vienna, in July 1959, and Communist Party activities among youth and youth organizations.

The legislative purposes relating to the foregoing subjects of inquiry are:

(1) Committee consideration of amendments to the Foreign Agents Registration Act as contained in H.R. 2232, introduced on January 12, 1959, and referred by the House of Representatives to the Committee on Un-American Activities;

(2) Committee consideration of amendments to section 215 of the Immigration and Nationality Act as contained in Title IV—Immigration and Passport Security—of H. R. 2232, introduced on January 12, 1959, and referred by the House of Representatives to the Committee on Un-American Activities;

(3) Consideration of the advisability of recommending legislation designed to strengthen by amendment, the registration provisions of the Internal Security Act of 1950, relative to the activities of Communist Party members within youth organizations; and

(4) To obtain additional information for use by the committee in consideration of a proposed amendment to section 4 of the Communist Control Act of 1954, prescribing a penalty for knowingly and willfully becoming or remaining a member of the Communist Party with knowledge of the purpose or objectives thereof, and to add to the committee's overall knowledge on the subject so that the Congress may be kept informed and thus prepared to enact remedial legislation in the national defense and for internal security.

(B) The execution by the administrative agencies concerned of all laws and regulations relating to the Internal Security Act, the Communist Control Act, the Foreign Agents Registration Act, Passport Regulations, and all other laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of the committee, the legislative purpose being to exercise continuous watchfulness over the execution of these laws, to assist the Congress in appraising their administration, and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary.

(C) Any other matter within the jurisdiction of the committee which it, or any subcommittee hereof, appointed to conduct these hearings may designate.

JANUARY 21, 1960.

To: Mr. Richard Arens, Staff Director, House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Pursuant to the provisions of the law and the rules of this committee, I hereby appoint a subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities, consisting of Representatives Clyde Doyle, Edwin E. Willis, Donald L. Jackson, and Gordon H. Scherer, as associate members, and myself, Francis E. Walter, as chairman, to conduct hearings in Washington, D.C., Tuesday through Friday, February 2 through 5, 1960, at 10:00 a.m., on subjects under investigation by the committee and take such testimony on said days or succeeding days, as it may deem necessary.

Please make this action a matter of committee record.

If any Member indicates his inability to serve, please notify me.

Given under my hand this 21st day of January 1960.

(Signed) FRANCIS E. WALTER,
Chairman, Committee on Un-American Activities.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. JOHANSEN. I wonder if I may make a brief statement before we hear the first witness?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. JOHANSEN. On yesterday afternoon, I had delivered to me a letter purported to come from a Mr. Nelson Burstein for the Executive Committee of the Young Republican Club of Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio. This letter was delivered to me by two young men who stated that they were students at Oberlin College, Mr. Leonard West and Mr. Austin Spencer.

I ask permission to include this letter in the record and then I should like to make one comment regarding it.

The CHAIRMAN. Let the letter be made a part of the record.

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 3



Oberlin College

Young Republican Club

OBERLIN, OHIO

January 30, 1960

Congressman August E. Johansen
House Office Building
Washington, D.C.

Dear Congressman Johansen:

On Tuesday, February 2nd, the House Un-American Activities Committee opens an inquiry into American student participation at the Vienna Youth Festival. The student council of Oberlin College has voted to send a delegation of seven students to Washington to observe the hearings and to collect pertinent information on the issues involved. We will not resist the holding of the hearings since we believe that American college students have nothing to hide from such an inquiry. Our concern is that the inquiry should attempt to discover the facts involved and that it will not develop into a massive investigation into American youth and the academic community with the resultant confusion and loss of perspective.

We understand that the inquiry is being held under the investigation of particular Democratic congressmen. We feel the Republican Party can earn the admiration and thanks of the academic community if the four Republican members of the House Un-American Activities Committee make a strong public attempt to insure that the hearings should be fair to all those questioned and should be addressed to the point and not become a general indictment of American youth.

We believe here is the opportunity for the Republican Party to correct many of the misunderstandings that exist between itself and the "intellectuals". We would appreciate your keeping us informed on the progress of the hearings and also having your comments.

Sincerely yours,

Nelson Burstein
For the Executive Committee
of the Young Republican Club

MB/11

(At this point, Mr. Tuck entered the hearing room.)

Mr. JOHANSEN. This letter among other things attempts to make a partisan issue of these hearings and invites me, because of my party affiliation, to diligently keep these hearings on a sound basis with respect to the efforts of the Democrats on the committee.

I want the record to show that, in response to this letter and in my conversation with these two men, I told them, in no uncertain terms,

that as far as this committee is concerned, there are neither Democrats nor Republicans, that this committee has acted consistently on the sole basis of fulfilling its mandate from the Congress. I therefore wanted the record clear on that and asked permission to include the letter.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you call your first witness, Mr. Arens.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Herbert Philbrick, please stand while the chairman administers an oath.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you swear that the testimony you are about to give is the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. PHILBRICK. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Be seated, please.

TESTIMONY OF HERBERT A. PHILBRICK

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Philbrick, realizing that you have testified for the Government on many occasions as a former undercover agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation serving in the Communist Party, I shall not ask you this morning to go into any great detail with respect to your background with the Communist Party. I should, however, like to ask just a few questions for the purpose of identifying you on this particular record.

Would you kindly give us, then, a word about your personal background, your education, and your present occupation?

Mr. PHILBRICK. Yes, sir. I was born and brought up in Boston, Massachusetts, and its suburbs, and graduated from Somerville High School. I went to college in Boston and then went into the advertising profession.

My business now is that of owning and operating a country general store in Rye Beach, New Hampshire.

Mr. ARENS. Have you, since testifying for the Government as an undercover agent of the FBI in the Communist Party, maintained a keen interest in the activities of the Communist conspiracy?

Mr. PHILBRICK. Yes, sir, I have.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Philbrick, the record of the committee reflects that you operated for years within the party at the request of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

This morning, for the purpose of background in the general exploration of this committee into Communist activities among youth, we would like to ask if you could give us an appraisal and the importance of youth to the Communist conspiracy.

Mr. PHILBRICK. Well, in their campaign of aggression against the free world, of course, the Soviet Union and its Communist agents in this country are very busy on many fronts.

(At this point, Mr. Scherer left the hearing room.)

Mr. PHILBRICK. Over the years, the record shows, however, that youth particularly as a target of the Communists has always occupied a top position on the agenda and the attention of the Communist apparatus.

In Communist infiltration of labor groups, for example, or church or peace movements in schools or colleges, the Communist always and constantly keeps an eye on the young people within those organizations. I think the reasons are obvious.

First of all, if the Communist Party is to build membership and maintain membership and to secure recruits for its Soviet apparatus in this country, of course, it must do so among young people.

Secondly, the Reds have found the youth of America vulnerable to their attacks, vulnerable to their appeals.

The Communist youth movement offers them excitement. It offers them activity, a sense of belonging to a worldwide organization of great impact and with much going on.

The Reds also, of course, know that our young people lack the knowledge and the experience of adults to weigh or to judge or to detect Communist propaganda appeals and so they know that they are vulnerable to that kind of an appeal.

The Communists are always very quick to seize targets of opportunity. Right now the Reds feel that they are in a very favorable position for a new drive on young people. The reason, they say, is that, first of all, we are now in a period of so-called relaxation of tensions and there is much favorable response to the appeals and to the statements of the Soviet leaders to the world. Secondly, the Communists, of course, always maintain a constant threat of war against this country and the free world. They know that young people are interested in preserving peace and so, by first posing the threat and then second offering a supposed solution to this threat, offering young people a phony answer, a solution, a means whereby they can secure peace, they know that young people are anxious to look for those answers.

(At this point, Mr. Miller entered the hearing room.)

Mr. PHILBRICK. Third, the Communists know that our young people lack training and lack education concerning communism. They know that schools and colleges generally are providing very little if any information to our young people concerning communism. Hence, again they know that young people are vulnerable to their attacks. In other words, the Communists know that, if they can weaken or if they can destroy the loyalty of our young people in our country and all that it stands for, they will be a long way toward eventual victory over the United States and the free world.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Philbrick, we would like to have the benefit of your experiences in youth groups. We know, of course, of your activity in a number of the principal Communist controlled youth organizations.

With that in mind, would you tell us how you first became involved in the Communist Party?

Mr. PHILBRICK. One of the reasons I have maintained a continuing interest in the matter of Communist subversive activities among young people is because I happen to be one of the victims of the Communists, specifically in this area.

As a young person, I was victimized and duped into joining a supposedly legitimate youth organization. It was an organization called the Cambridge Youth Council of Cambridge, Massachusetts. I joined the group at that time, a sincere young person interested in world peace, and the appeal of the Cambridge Youth Council was that of world peace. I was not the only one who joined it, incidentally; there were some 350 to 400 other young people who joined that organization, too.

After joining it, however, I began to discover that something was rather wrong with the organization and within six months had de-

tected that the organization was not a legitimate youth organization at all, it was a complete phony, it was a fraud and, furthermore, it was dominated and controlled by persons I suspected to be members of the Communist criminal conspiracy.

Mr. ARENS. What did you do about it?

Mr. PHILBRICK. At that time, I decided to do two things.

Number 1, I decided to quit, to get out from an organization that was not a legitimate group. I also decided that someone should know that a vicious racket was being perpetrated against the young people and, therefore, decided to report those facts to the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Mr. ARENS. Would you proceed with what happened next?

Mr. PHILBRICK. After talking to the FBI, they suggested to me that I might stay on in the youth group, the Cambridge Youth Council, in order to learn more about what the Communists were doing in that organization, and I agreed to do so.

Mr. ARENS. Then following your experience with this Cambridge Youth Council, did you have similar experiences with other organizations geared to the demands of youth which were likewise Communist-infiltrated or controlled?

Mr. PHILBRICK. Yes. Indeed, it was a shock to me to discover the extent of Communist activity among young people. I was astonished to learn that not only were the Communists active in the Cambridge Youth Council but that they were also active in many other youth organizations and, upon their request and their invitation, I joined a great many similar Communist front youth organizations, groups such as, for example, Youth for Victory, the American Student Union, the National Youth Lobby, the American Youth Congress, the Young Progressives, Youth for Wallace. The list itself would be very long.

All of this was an awakening to me as someone who at that time knew very little about communism, an awakening and realization of the tremendous amount of activity and time and effort the Communists were putting in among the young people of this country.

Mr. ARENS. Did your association with these numerous organizations lead you into any connection with the parent organization, the Young Communist League?

Mr. PHILBRICK. Yes. After working within the Communist front organizations for a period of time, the Communists then invited me to join the Young Communist League and I did so, again after checking with the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Mr. ARENS. How did these various organizations which you have described briefly, such as the Cambridge Youth Council, differ from the Young Communist League itself?

Mr. PHILBRICK. Well, the purposes of the Cambridge Youth Council and the other Communist front organizations as front organizations were several fold. First of all, of course, the over-all purpose of the Communist front youth organizations was to strengthen the position of the Soviet Union and to weaken the position of the United States; to break down, if possible, the loyalties of young people, their respect, their regard for their own nation, their own country, their own background, their own heritage. This was done, incidentally, over most of the period of time in the guise of peace propaganda.

The second major purpose of the Communist front organization was to serve as a transmission belt for Communist propaganda. In

other words, the Communists knew at that time that perhaps very few of the young people would be vulnerable to direct appeals by the Communist Party itself.

They knew, for example, that if a leaflet or a booklet or a pamphlet were to be given to the young person and it was clearly and accurately labeled Communist Party, they might tend to disregard it or perhaps not to believe it. However, if they were to take the same propaganda written at Communist Party headquarters, take off the label "Communist Party" and put on a new label, such as "American Youth for Democracy," this, they hoped, would sufficiently disguise the subversive propaganda and the material would be accepted. The Communists called these organizations transmission belts. That is not my term. That is their term.

Third, the front organizations served as recruiting grounds for the Communist Party itself. It was here that the Communists looked for their future members in the Communist criminal conspiracy.

Out of the many young people who joined and participated in the Communist front organizations, the Communists very carefully selected the most promising, they felt, future members of the Communist Party, who were then invited to join the Young Communist League.

In the Young Communist League, the purpose there was specifically to serve as a training ground for eventual membership in the Communist Party itself. Hence, it duplicated the Communist apparatus in the form of its organization, in the nature of its meetings.

The meetings were held secretly. They were held every other week as Communist cell meetings are held.

The organizational structure pretty much copied and duplicated that of the Communist Party itself; thereby the young people were trained to be future members of the Communist apparatus.

The Young Communist League in fact called itself the "vanguard of the youth movement."

Mr. ARENS. Did the Communist Party find it necessary from the standpoint of the impact on the mind of youth to disband the Young Communist League and create in its stead an organization with the same objectives and same purposes but with a different facade or front?

Mr. PHILBRICK. Yes, it did.

Mr. ARENS. When was that, please?

Mr. PHILBRICK. That was back in 1943.

Mr. ARENS. What was the successor organization?

Mr. PHILBRICK. The organization which succeeded the Young Communist League was called American Youth for Democracy.

Mr. ARENS. How did the American Youth for Democracy differ from the Young Communist League?

Mr. PHILBRICK. It differed only in that it offered a much wider membership than the restricted membership of the Young Communist League. The reason was that at that time the Communists were anxious to involve, to recruit as many American young people as possible behind the war effort and to aid as allies the Soviet Union in the war against fascism.

To do that, they felt that it was necessary to broaden the scope of its organizational structure and therefore the American Youth for Democracy replaced and succeeded the Young Communist League.

Mr. ARENS. While there was an organizational difference, Mr. Philbrick, between the American Youth for Democracy and the Young Communist League—in other words, was the AYD itself controlled by the Communist Party as was the Young Communist League?

Mr. PHILBRICK. The American Youth for Democracy was completely controlled by the Communist Party due to the fact that all of the officers known to me, including myself, were secret members of the Communist apparatus. I, incidentally, served in the capacity of Massachusetts State Treasurer of American Youth for Democracy. Similarly all of the other top officers of AYD were members of the Communist criminal conspiracy.

Mr. ARENS. I would like to pause here for just a minute in your presentation of this background material, Mr. Philbrick, to ask you a few questions on the theme that the chairman pursued in his opening statement this morning.

To what extent is the Communist operation among youth reflected in the numerical strength of the identified hard-core agents working among the youth?

Mr. PHILBRICK. The number of actual Communist youth among the young people has always been a very tiny minority. For example, when I first joined the Cambridge Youth Council, I had no way, at that time, of knowing who the Communists were and who the dupes were.

It later developed that the Communist criminal conspiracy controlled that organization, the Cambridge Youth Council, composed of 350 or more young people, controlled it completely with only three secret members of the Communist apparatus.

Mr. ARENS. Did these secret members make it known to the young people that they were part of the conspiratorial apparatus known as the Communist Party?

Mr. PHILBRICK. No, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Do they in their approach to the young people speak in humanitarian terms, uplift terms, idealistic terms?

Mr. PHILBRICK. Yes, they do.

Mr. ARENS. They do not reveal to the young people that they themselves are hard-core conspirators of the Communist apparatus, do they?

Mr. PHILBRICK. No, they do not. In fact, after I joined the Communist apparatus, I was specifically ordered and instructed by the Communist bosses not to reveal my membership to any of the young people with whom we were working. In fact, I was further ordered that if I were challenged as a Communist, if I were charged with being a member of the Communist apparatus, I was to deny that I was or ever had been a member of the Communist apparatus.

Mr. ARENS. In appearance, do these hard-core agents of the conspiracy working among youth give the appearance of a conspirator, as such?

Mr. PHILBRICK. No, indeed. The skill with which the Communists have developed these Communist front organizations is truly magnificent.

We must not underestimate the ability of the Communists to disguise these organizations.

I think this is borne out in fact by the recent book about communism, by the Director of the FBI, J. Edgar Hoover. The title of that book is "Masters of Deceit." Master of deceit is truly a most accurate and revealing description of the Communist agent.

He is indeed and truly a master of deceit, of deception, of the techniques of deceiving, confusing and duping not only young people but, of course, adults as well.

Mr. ARENS. The Chairman in his opening statement commented along this line this morning, as you will recall, Mr. Philbrick, that these Communist hard-core agents who are masters at deceit attempt to pervert in the minds of the American public and in the minds of the youth the investigations by congressional committees into an area of Communist activity.

As the chairman indicated in the exhibit which he had in his hand this morning, the Communists have attempted to pervert the investigation by this committee today, these hearings which we are going to hold for the next several days into an investigation of youth itself rather than into an investigation of Communist activities among youth.

Now, will you tell us, based upon your experience in the Communist apparatus, as an undercover agent for the Federal Bureau of Investigation, how the few Communist agents working among youth are able to create that perversion in their minds regarding an investigative committee, its objectives, and its work?

Mr. PHILBRICK. Well, they are able to create it first and foremost, of course, by the lack of information upon the part of the young people themselves. As we said before, very few colleges, schools, or universities are providing our young people with any information at all concerning communism or their appeals or their techniques.

Of course, the Communists know that young people have a high regard for free speech, for civil liberties, for all of the other great and wonderful things that this country stands for and certainly we can be proud of the fact that we live in a country which enjoys a greater measure of freedom than any other nation in the world.

The Communists know, therefore, that our decent young people are sincerely concerned about the preservation of free speech, civil liberties, and our other guarantees under our Constitution.

By propagandizing among the young people, by telling them and by implying to them that this committee or other Government committees are a threat to their free speech, they know that immediately the young person is going to respond.

Of course, not all young people are duped by such an appeal. Most young people in fact see through the deceit of the Communists in that area, but always they are able to confuse a certain small number of young people, and, therefore, building upon these appeals, they will then exploit them still further.

Mr. ARENS. Do the young people who are enmeshed in the Communist apparatus have free speech as we know it in a legitimate organization?

Mr. PHILBRICK. They indeed do not, sir.

One of the interesting things I discovered, when I first joined the Young Communist League, was that the Communist Party had two party lines. They had one Communist Party line which was used for

public dissemination and distribution but then when you joined the Communist apparatus itself, you found that they had another party line which was for the members of its own apparatus. I found out that, as a Communist Party member or as a Young Communist League member, there your freedom of speech was specifically limited by Soviet foreign policy.

(At this point, Mr. Johansen left the hearing room.)

Mr. PHILBRICK. At all times, what the Young Communist League stood for, or advocated or urged, was in complete conformity with the foreign policy of the Soviet Union.

Mr. ARENS. How do these few dedicated hard-core agents working among youth groups gain a respectability so as to speak before schools and colleges? For example, Mr. Philbrick, there is present in this hearing room now a Communist agent who has been identified repeatedly by competent people under oath before this committee as a hard-core Communist agent, Frank Wilkinson. He gains admission, as we have seen in the press, to legitimate schools and colleges to address youth groups, and he works among youth.

How will a man like that, Mr. Philbrick, gain that respectability in legitimate colleges and schools so that he will be offered the platform to speak to the youngsters?

Can you explain that, based upon your background and experience?

Mr. PHILBRICK. Well, I believe that the major reason for that is simply one of apathy, of complacency, of indifference on the part of the directors of educational institutions all across the country. It is interesting to note that, although Communists and fellow travelers have free access to the platforms and the forums of our colleges and universities, you will also find many colleges and universities which never at any time feature a speaker or a lecturer to talk to them about communism, in other words, to reveal the truth about communism.

I think the basic reason for it is two fold:

Number 1, the apathy, indifference and complacency of the administrators themselves, and

Number 2, you will generally find that the Communist invited to the American campus is being helped by a secret Communist on that campus.

For example, when I joined again the Cambridge Youth Council, we were told that the Cambridge Youth Council had a list of very prominent names of adults listed as sponsors of that organization. These names appeared to us to be perfectly legitimate names. These names were used as a means to get the secret Communists who were running the Cambridge Youth Council onto the campuses at Harvard University, at MIT, at Boston University, and many others.

We young people who were being duped did not know that Dirk Struik, one of the sponsors of the Cambridge Youth Council, had been and was all of the time a secret member of the Communist conspiracy. We did not know that, therefore, behind the scenes he was actively aiding and abetting and helping in every way the Communists in the Communist front youth organizations.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Philbrick, how did the front organization serve as a Communist transmission belt in youth activities of the Communists?

(At this point, Mr. Johansen returned to the hearing room.)

Mr. PHILBRICK. This was done in many ways.

First of all, we have already mentioned the use of booklets, pamphlets, and leaflets, and that sort of thing.

The Communist Party headquarters is usually distinguished by the fact that it has a duplicating machine of some kind or another and that duplicating machine, believe me, is always busy. The Communists are continually grinding out propaganda material and I would say that perhaps 90 or 95 percent of that propaganda material printed, published, distributed by the Communist criminal conspiracy is disguised by the use of names other than the Communist Party itself.

(At this point, Mr. Tuck left the hearing room.)

Mr. PHILBRICK. In addition to the propaganda material, the Communist also uses newspaper releases. This was done, for example, with American Youth for Democracy.

Incidentally, I was a member of the so-called Agit-prop section of the Communist Party apparatus. As such, I worked with other propaganda committee people at Communist Party headquarters and, therefore, I saw these techniques in person. The technique was simply that at Communist Party headquarters a newspaper release would be prepared. But instead of labeling that news release "Communist Party," it would be named or labeled, let us say, "American Youth for Democracy."

At the city desk of the newspaper, that news release with such a fine sounding name many times enabled the Communists to get their propaganda printed.

Hence, you see, the Communist youth organizations were helping the Communists very greatly not only as transmission belts themselves, but actually turning the newspaper itself into a transmission belt for Communist propaganda.

A third means was that of public demonstrations of youth festivals, of lobbying, of tours and trips to Washington, D.C.

In fact, on several occasions, I was a member and a part of the so-called youth delegations coming to Washington, D.C., with a lot of excitement, a lot of glamor, but serving all the time as a means of Communist indoctrination and Communist propaganda.

Mr. ARENS. It is the information of this committee that in connection with these hearings in which we are presently engaged, the Communist apparatus, without revealing to the youth that it was the Communist apparatus, sent delegations to Washington.

Did the Communist youth create front organizations which actively affiliated themselves with or supported the international Communist youth organizations?

Mr. PHILBRICK. Yes, indeed. Over the period of several years now, the Communists every other year have promoted to the fullest extent the so-called Communist international youth festivals.

Before I left the Communist Party, we had two such festivals and each time the Communists spent a great deal of time and effort, not only to get members of the Communist Party or the Young Communist League to attend the youth festival, but to get non-Communist young people to the youth festival.

Again, the purpose was to indoctrinate, to subvert the true loyalties of those young people, and to win their loyalties for the Soviet Union.

Mr. ARENS. During your membership in the Communist Party, were Communist youth ever used to strengthen the party apparatus in areas other than youth, such as Communist activity among labor groups or Communist activity in industrial areas and the like?

Mr. PHILBRICK. The Communists always taught us that we young Communists should never isolate ourselves from "mass organizations" or from the people and, therefore, we were specifically taught and told that it was our duty as young Communists to work actively within other organizations.

We were told, for example, that we were to work within church and peace organizations.

I specifically was ordered to work within a church in Wakefield, Massachusetts.

We were ordered to work among non-Communist organizations, such as the YMCA or the YWCA. In fact, in Boston, we held some of our meetings at the YWCA headquarters, of course, without the knowledge on the part of the YWCA leaders that this had all the time been a Communist plot and plan.

Furthermore, young people were told that they had responsibilities as Communists in the ranks of labor.

Here they were instructed that they were not to waste their talents as Communists upon non-essential industries; that is, on jobs of little importance to the defense or to the economy of the United States. They were specifically, from time to time, ordered to become "colonizers" for the Communist Party.

A colonizer, we were told by the Communists, was one who would give up a job, let us say, in a non-essential industry and seek a job or a position in a key industry, and the word "key" industry is not my term. Again, that is the Communist term.

A key industry, according to the Reds, was one vital to the defense of the United States, one vital to the economy of the United States.

The young Communists colonizers in fact were told that they should do this even if it meant taking a drop in pay, even if it meant losing seniority in their union membership. This they were to do as part of their service to the Communist international.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Philbrick, based upon your extensive experience and your continuing interest and study of the Communist movement, specifically its activity among youth groups, what role has youth been assigned by the Communist Party over the last ten years, and what is the importance of youth to the continuing existence of the Communist Party in the United States?

Mr. PHILBRICK. I think that perhaps the best evidence in answer to that question could be and should be from the Communist apparatus itself.

As you know, over the period of these years I have maintained a continuing interest in Communist activities in this country. I have paid particular attention and interest to Communist agitation and subversion among the youth and the young people.

Mr. ARENS. Have you made a particular study, Mr. Philbrick, of Communist publications such as Political Affairs, the Daily Worker, and New World Review, and the like?

Mr. PHILBRICK. Yes, sir, I have.

Mr. ARENS. Which are beamed directly at youth work by the Communist Party?

Mr. PHILBRICK. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Then would you kindly draw upon the exhibits which you have and direct the committee's attention to the articles, summarizing them as to the outline of the Communist Party's program among youth groups in the United States?

Mr. PHILBRICK. The pattern shows a continuing interest by the Communist criminal conspiracy in the young people of this Nation and throughout the world.

We find in the August 1955 issue of Political Affairs—and Political Affairs, incidentally inside the Communist Party was a monthly publication distributed to us from Communist Party headquarters by Communist members called literature chairmen. The job of literature chairman was to deliver to the various Communists cells Communist directives. Political Affairs was one of the publications which we were told should serve as a guide to action, a guide to action for all Communists. In other words, these were not simply articles to read and to lay aside. These were directives to study and then to act upon.

In the August 1955 issue of Political Affairs, we found an article by Julian Lowitt, entitled "Youth and the Struggle for Peace and Democracy."

In this article, we learn from the Communists:

"That the fight for the youth today has a new, more urgent historical content," and they say that this "may be seen from the fact that the last Congress of the French Communist Party devoted fully one third of its sitting to the youth question." This confirms not only that the Communists in this country are interested in young people, but that this is also a pattern of Communists throughout the world.

(Document marked "Philbrick Exhibit No. 1" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Identify Political Affairs, if you please, sir.

Mr. PHILBRICK. It is regarded generally as a theoretical organ of the Communist conspiracy on American soil.

In the January 1956 issue of Political Affairs, there is an article by Martha Stone, entitled "The Youth" and perhaps just two or three paragraphs will indicate the nature of Communist concern with young people.

For example, Martha Stone reports that "last June"—which would have been June, 1955—"after several months of preliminary discussion, the National Administrative Committee undertook a review of our work in the youth field."

In other words, this was simply not a matter of interest and concern on the part of rank and file Communist Party members. This was something of such importance that it occupied the attention of the National Committee of the Communist Party, U.S.A.

(Document marked "Philbrick Exhibit No. 2" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. PHILBRICK. In the April 1958 issue of Political Affairs, we find an article entitled "A Call to Youth." This is written, we are told, by 12 American youths. The 12 American youths are not identified but the content of their statements within this article confirms the statement made by Congressman Walter at the opening of this hearing today, concerning the element of indoctrination on the part of the Communist Party of the youth of this country.

Evidently the Communists were highly successful in indoctrinating these 12 American youths because they say, for example, that, "The science of Marxism-Leninism derives from 3 fundamental sources: (A) Dialectical and Historical Materialism; (B) The Labor Theory of Value and the Theory of Surplus Value, and (C) The Class Struggle." It is apparent in reading this article that these young people believe in dialectical and historical materialism, and the labor theory of value, and the theory of surplus value, and the class struggle.

If these young people had been sufficiently educated by their schools and colleges, they would not have fallen for this phony, pseudo-scientific theory of the Communist Party.

They also believe, it is apparent from this article, in the use of force and violence on the part of the Communist Party and, as usual, they give the standard excuse as to why the Communists find it necessary to use force and violence.

They say that the—

Dictatorship of the proletariat—this will be necessary to consolidate the victory over the bourgeoisie. * * *

We desire a peaceful transition to socialism, but we recognize that this will be conditional upon the peaceful yielding of the ruling class to the will of the majority (we also recognize that the day of transition has often been relatively peaceful * * *).

"Violence has never been introduced by the working class," these young people allege, "it has always been perpetrated by the bourgeoisie in a desperate effort to block the will of the majority of the people."

It so happens that that allegation is completely false. It is completely phony. It has no basis in fact, and the facts of history give the lie to that claim. Yet here are young people sufficiently indoctrinated, sufficiently brainwashed so that they accept the Communist contention that they have been a "majority" when the fact of history is that the Communists have never been a majority of anything at any time.

The Communists were never a majority of the Socialists in Russia; nor were they a majority after their insurrection. After they destroyed the free provisional government of the Russian people, they held an election. This was the first, the last, and the only free election that the Russian people have been permitted to hold.

Out of the 36 million votes in late 1917 or early 1918, only 9 million votes were cast for the Communists. They were, therefore, not a majority; but a minority, and their dictatorship was one imposed upon the Russian people despite the will of the people.

Yet here are 12 young Americans, according to the Communists, who are falling for "historical" claptrap fabricated by the Communist criminal conspiracy, and this certainly confirms the statement of Congressman Walter concerning the subversive indoctrination of youth in our country.

(Document marked "Philbrick Exhibit No. 3" and retained in committee files.)

MR. PHILBRICK. I have an article in the New World Review, written by Eslanda Robeson in the November 1958 issue of that publication.

MR. ARENS. That is an international publication, is it not?

MR. PHILBRICK. Yes, and this, too, is distributed through the Communist propaganda network in this country.

In this article, we find a clear indication of the vitally important role played by young Communists in the indoctrination of youth.

Eslanda Robeson in the third paragraph of this article, speaks of Artek, which in the Soviet Union is somewhat like the Young Communist League in this country. They operate youth camps.

That is what she says:

Twenty years ago when we were in the Soviet Union with our son, Paul, a Pioneer was a child who won high grades at school and/or showed some evidence of leadership in the community—in other words one who was in fact a pioneer in the new socialist society. Paul was among the children at his school in Moscow who won this high honor, and he wore his pin and bright red Pioneer tie with pride. He still has the tie and the pin, stored away with his precious possessions.

I think this is a beautiful example of the way in which Communists not only manage to indoctrinate young people, but how that indoctrination stays with them.

(Document marked "Philbrick Exhibit No. 4" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Philbrick, the educational director of the Communist Party of the United States is a man by the name of Hyman Lumer, who, like Mr. Wilkinson, has in the course of the recent past, been welcomed on major campuses over this country to make speeches.

We had hearings in Pittsburgh in March of 1959. Just before this committee arrived in Pittsburgh, Mr. Lumer, educational director of the Communist Party of the United States, was invited and addressed student groups at Pittsburgh, and he has done likewise in other places over the country.

Do you have any of the writings of Mr. Lumer which reveal the designs which he, as a hard-core member of this conspiracy, has on American youth?

Mr. PHILBRICK. Yes. As the educational director for the Communist criminal conspiracy, of course, Lumer has given attention to the important area of youth work. It is revealed that in April of 1959, Hyman Lumer delivered a report to the National Committee of the Communist Party, U.S.A., and this report in June was reprinted in the magazine, Political Affairs.

This report by Hyman Lumer was entitled "On Party Youth Work."

He says, among other things:

The Party cannot wage successfully the fight for progress and socialism without striving to win a solid base among the youth, and without a continual influx of young people into its ranks.

Throughout the report, we find a diligent study of the statistics and facts and figures concerning American young people. We find that the Communists have broken down the population of our young people into age and other brackets and it is very apparent from this report that they have spent a great deal of time and effort in making a diligent study of the youth of America.

They brag about former victories and successes of the Communist Party. They say, for example, that back in an earlier period, "The Young Communist League blossomed forth, growing from 3,000 members in 1933 to 22,000 in 1939."

The YCL, they brag——

was an influential force in the mass youth movement. Outstanding among its accomplishments was its leadership in the winning of the American Youth Congress from the control of the pro-fascist elements who initiated it for their own ends, and its conversion into a mass democratic organization.

Incidentally, I might interject here that I was a member of the American Youth Congress, and at the time the Communists were diligently denying that they had anything to do with the American Youth Congress. They were alleging that this was a non-Communist organization, they were doing everything they could to conceal the actual Communist control of the organization.

Now, some years later, they find it expedient for them to brag that they indeed controlled it and converted it, they say, into a "mass democratic organization." They brag of the same thing concerning the Southern Negro Youth Congress.

(Document marked "Philbrick Exhibit No. 5" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Philbrick, do you have any exhibits from Communist documents showing the current designs of the Communists in the course of the last few months on youth?

Mr. PHILBRICK. It is very evident, as I reported in the opening of this hearing that, at the present time, the Communists believe that they have a new and a better opportunity for indoctrinating, for winning youth to their movement than they have had at any time in the recent past.

We find this, for example, in the National Committee Draft Resolution of the Communist convention.

Mr. ARENS. You mean the recent national convention held in New York City just a few months ago?

Mr. PHILBRICK. Held in December of 1959, yes, sir.

William Z. Foster, in Political Affairs of December 1959, commenting on the draft resolution for that Communist convention, has this to say:

Organize a Youth Movement Without Further Delay: One of the greatest errors made by the Party in its crisis period and afterwards, was the liquidation of the Labor Youth League. This was an act of revisionism and liquidationism. It was done after the 16th convention. It is, therefore, indispensable that a new youth organization should be formed as quickly as possible. At the beginning, the youth movement will be pretty much a Communist organization, but it must be broadened out in the mass work. The 17th national convention should take this matter most earnestly in hand.

(Document marked "Philbrick Exhibit No. 6" and retained in committee file.)

Mr. PHILBRICK. Well, the evidence indicates that this was taken "most earnestly in hand" because at the 17th convention, a Resolution on the Youth Question" was presented and passed by the convention.

I think that some of the statements made in that resolution are highly significant.

They say, for example:

As the American people enter a decade of sharp struggle for peace, democracy and security, American youth are showing powerful beginnings of a new upsurge.

* * * Every section of the country can point to signs of the upsurge.

* * * Our Party youth, feeling the need to advance the democratic movements of youth have—with the rest of the Party—begun the process of breaking out of isolation and can point with pride to accomplishments in the Youth March and in other struggles.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Philbrick, may I interrupt to ask you this: Does the Communist Party in its resolutions use Aesopean language?

Mr. PHILBRICK. They indeed do. It is a common characteristic of the Communist apparatus always to use Aesopean language.

Mr. ARENS. When the party is speaking in this resolution about democracy and breaking out of isolation and the like, as you proceed to comment on this resolution of the party on youth, would you interpret for the committee some of this Aesopean language of the party itself?

Mr. PHILBRICK. Yes, indeed. When the Communists, for example, speak of the sharp struggle for peace, democracy, and security, what they really mean, of course, is the struggle on the part of the Soviet Union to win, to be victorious over the free world. The struggle for peace, democracy, and security, when translated into ordinary language, means the struggle for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the United States. When they speak of the democratic movements of youth, they, of course, do not mean democratic movements. They mean a totalitarian movement.

They say, again continuing with the quote, "Groups of youth interested in Marxist study and action have appeared in a number of cities among college students, teen-agers, and other youth."

When they talk about Marxist study groups, they mean, of course, Marxist indoctrination groups, and it is interesting to note that the Communists are here bragging that these Marxist indoctrination groups have been formed among college students, teenagers, and other young people.

"But," they say, "this new upsurge is still evidenced unevenly, in a great variety of forms on a variety of issues and in a variety of geographical areas." Therefore, they go on throughout the resolution to urge ways and means to correct this "uneven" work among the youth in this country and finally, they say:

The incoming National Committee—

(which would be the incoming National Committee of the Communist apparatus)—

within a period of no more than 30 days after the adjournment of this convention, shall appoint a full-time director of youth affairs and establish a functioning national commission on youth affairs composed of youth and adult members. This commission, amongst other things, shall issue a regular national party youth bulletin. We urge that in a brief period of time those state committees which have not done so, shall establish political and organizational responsibility for youth affairs.

Now, this is the resolution which was passed at the recent December convention of the Communist Party, and it shows quite clearly, that the Communist criminal conspiracy today, at this moment, has new designs, new plans for the subversion of our young people.

(Document marked "Philbrick Exhibit No. 7" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Philbrick, one of the principal Communist Party lines is a profession of peaceful intent.

Based upon your background and experience in the conspiratorial apparatus known as the Communist Party, have you had a similar experience in the Communist Party line which it was propagating at the time?

Mr. PHILBRICK. Yes; in fact, one of the amazing characteristics of the Communist criminal conspiracy is that despite the fact that they will from time to time change their tactics and strategy, really there is never anything very new about what they do or how they do it.

For example, I have with me today from my own files a Communist propaganda piece which speaks "for peace and for freedom."

It is interesting to note what they say. They say, for example, in the matter of freedom, "We are alarmed at the current drive against American civil liberties, the new loyalty order on Federal workers, the proposed laws to outlaw minority political parties and the daily violations of existing laws."

The Communists allege "witch hunts in Congress"; and they charge that "today in our high school and college campuses where traditional student freedoms are being destroyed."

"There are discriminatory practices against young women of minority and political and religious groups."

This sounds like the words being used by the Communists this very week.

It so happens that this particular leaflet from my files is one which was prepared at Communist Party headquarters in 1941! Hence, you see the Communists are still using the same old propaganda appeals for young people today as they were then. The tragedy of this is that today there will be again young people who will be victimized, who will be duped, who will be fooled by this clever appeal by the Communist apparatus.

Mr. ARENS. I have only one last question, Mr. Philbrick. Based upon your background and experience of continuing interest in the Communist operations among youth and in light of the chairman's statement that the overwhelming majority of the youth of this country are loyal and patriotic, what word of advice could you give to the young people who are sincere, who are honest, who are patriotic, with reference to the threat to their numbers by this conspiratorial force?

Mr. PHILBRICK. I would suggest several things. I would, first of all, suggest that our loyal young people support this committee in its efforts to make the truth be known because there is one thing that the Communist Party fears more than anything else, and that is the truth. They know they cannot survive if the truth were known. Hence, it is important that this committee and other investigating committees constantly procure and obtain the truth and make known the facts about communism and Communist activity in our country. Therefore, young people should support the work of this committee and of the congressmen who give so much of their time to it.

Secondly, our young people should demand that their schools and colleges provide them with information about communism. This is not being done now. There are very few schools and colleges which have adequate courses concerning communism. This they should demand because it is impossible for them (or for anyone) to fight an

enemy unless they know their enemy. Third, of course, our young people should not only be aware of the great crisis that we are in today, the worldwide crisis, the threat that communism poses against all of the free peoples and all of the free world, but they should also diligently study, learn, and come to appreciate the wonderful heritage, the great things of value which we have to protect and defend in this country.

If they come to truly understand the value of the heritage given to us, bequeathed to us, I am sure that then they will realize the vital importance of defending and maintaining the wonderful freedom we have in this Nation and to fight against the subversive activities of the Communist apparatus.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, that will complete the staff interrogation of this witness.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have any questions?

Mr. DOYLE. I have just one question.

At what age were you when you joined the youth group in your home city in Massachusetts?

Mr. PHILBRICK. Twenty-two years of age, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. At what position in your education were you?

Mr. PHILBRICK. I had graduated from college. Unfortunately, at college I had been taught and told very little about communism. Therefore, at the time I was invited to join the Cambridge Youth Council, I did not know that there were such things as Communist-front organizations.

Mr. DOYLE. How long did you stay in the Communist Party secretly, so far as your fellow citizens were concerned?

Mr. PHILBRICK. I was involved either in the Young Communist League or the Communist Party and its fronts for a period of 9 years, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. Nine years?

Mr. PHILBRICK. Nine years, from 1940 to 1949.

Mr. DOYLE. You ought to know a good deal about it, then.

Mr. PHILBRICK. I think I did learn a few things, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. Did I understand that you, while secretly a member of the Communist Party in Massachusetts, became the treasurer of the State Communist group?

Mr. PHILBRICK. Yes, American Youth for Democracy.

Mr. DOYLE. How long were you the State treasurer of the Communist American Youth for Democracy?

Mr. PHILBRICK. I occupied that position for about two and a half years.

Mr. DOYLE. Did you get any pay for it, any salary?

Mr. PHILBRICK. No, sir.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Mr. Philbrick, I am not asking you to make any generalized statement, but do you have, of your own knowledge, any information that indicates that in some instances, at least, efforts of the Communist apparatus to influence students is actively aided and abetted by members of faculties?

Mr. PHILBRICK. This I learned and can confirm through my own experience, sir. When the Communists formed these Communist front organizations, in every instance, a "sponsoring committee" was organized. And in every instance the names of individuals occupy-

ing high positions in our educational institutions as instructors, as professors or administrators were included in the list of adult sponsors of those Communist fronts.

Now, they were aiding and abetting the Communist Party, because these young people had no reason to suspect that there should have been anything wrong with an organization which had on its list of sponsors the names of these respectable members of the community and of the academic profession; and, therefore they joined the organization.

I would say that that has been one of the greatest helps to the Communists in victimizing young people, the fact that they have had the use of those names.

Mr. JOHANSEN. When you say that the students themselves had no reason to suspect the relationship of those sponsors, can you make the same statement with respect to those sponsors themselves having no reason to suspect what they were doing?

Mr. PHILBRICK. No, I would say, in answer to that question, that this might be so if we were to find that these individuals, let us say, would sponsor one or perhaps two Communist front organizations.

The pattern, however, from my observation inside the Communist Party was that the same names appeared over and over again, not only sponsoring one or two or three but dozens of such Communist front organizations, names like Professor Dirk Struik, for example, whom we already have mentioned. His name was linked with virtually every Communist front youth organization we had, not only locally but throughout the United States.

The trouble was that each time they listed the name of Dirk Struik, and by "they," I mean each time the Communists used the name of Dirk Struik, immediately after the name they would insert the term "Massachusetts Institute of Technology." The average young person across the country has a great and high regard for that wonderful educational and scientific institution. They would believe upon seeing the name MIT, "This must be a wonderful youth organization." They did not know that this was a tactic, a device used by the Communist Party to victimize them.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, Mr. Philbrick.

I am glad to see that you are not discouraged and that you are continuing in this struggle.

It seems to me that it would be lots easier if certain segments of the press were honest in their reporting or in not giving to Communists advantages they receive. For example, from this Khrushchev spectacular directing that two little people be permitted to leave Russia to join their mothers and fathers. This is played up in all of the information media in the United States as a great act of generosity, but what these people who are talking about that do not mention is the fact that the Congress of the United States enacted laws under which literally thousands of children and parents of American citizens could join them tomorrow were it not for the fact that they are prisoners of this same crowd.

It just seems unfortunate to me that our press, or part of it, does not enlist in this life and death struggle on our side.

Thank you very much, Mr. Philbrick.

Mr. ARENS. We have another witness, please sir.

Mr. Andrew Ilyinsky, will you kindly come forward.

Please remain standing while the chairman administers an oath.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you swear that the testimony you will give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. ILYINSKY. I do.

TESTIMONY OF ANDREW ILYINSKY

Mr. ARENS. Please identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. ILYINSKY. My name is Andrew Ilyinsky. I live in New York City. I am an employee of the United States Treasury.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Ilyinsky, are you employed by the Customs Bureau of the United States Treasury?

Mr. ILYINSKY. That is right, sir.

Mr. ARENS. I expect to go into your personal background in a few moments, but I want to pursue another course for an instant, if you please.

Did you, over the course of the last several months, at the instance of the chairman of this committee, make a study of Communist propaganda destined to schools, colleges, libraries, and youth groups in the United States?

Mr. ILYINSKY. Yes, sir. I did.

Mr. ARENS. And did you, at the instance of the chairman of this committee, in collaboration with your colleagues at the United States Customs Service, prepare a report for submission to this committee on the subject of Communist propaganda destined to youth groups?

Mr. ILYINSKY. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have that report with you?

Mr. ILYINSKY. That is right, sir.

Mr. ARENS. We will be glad to receive it officially now, if you please, sir, and, if the chairman please, to embody it as a part of the record of this committee.

The CHAIRMAN. That may be done.

(See Appendix, p. 1404, for report.)

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Ilyinsky, have you brought with you today typical samples of Communist propaganda destined to youth in the United States?

Mr. ILYINSKY. Yes, sir. I believe that we have here a very representative selection of the material that is going by the thousands and thousands into this country.

Mr. ARENS. Who are the recipients of this Communist propaganda?

Mr. ILYINSKY. Most of all this material is directed to all the colleges and universities in the United States, particularly to different student groups which are attached to different universities.

Mr. ARENS. Is there any school or college in the United States you have checked out that is not directly or indirectly the recipient of that Communist propaganda?

(At this point, Mr. Johansen left the hearing room.)

Mr. ILYINSKY. To our knowledge, there is not.

Mr. ARENS. In other words, is it a fact that the Communist propaganda which you will shortly be discussing, exhibits of which you

have brought with you today, is destined to virtually every school and college in the United States?

Mr. ILYINSKY. Exactly, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Can you give us just one indication of the volume of this Communist propaganda?

Mr. ILYINSKY. I am sorry to say that our office did not make a detailed study. We didn't count the pieces and we cannot give you exact information as to the quantity, but we know, for instance, one port through which the propaganda comes in.

Mr. ARENS. What port is that?

Mr. ILYINSKY. It is the port of New Orleans.

Mr. ARENS. Did you make a spot check at New Orleans as to the volume of this propaganda destined to schools and colleges?

Mr. ILYINSKY. That is right, sir.

Mr. ARENS. What was the result of that one spot check?

Mr. ILYINSKY. We established that at least 300,000 packages, not pieces, but packages, would come in and each package would contain 5, 10, or 15 publications.

Mr. ARENS. Over what period of time did these packages come in through this one port of New Orleans destined to schools and colleges?

Mr. ILYINSKY. Through the 12 months of 1959.

Mr. ARENS. You say there were at least five individual items in each package?

Mr. ILYINSKY. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. We will pursue this a little further as we get into the specifics of your presentation today, if you please.

Will you kindly give us a word about your personal background?

Mr. ILYINSKY. I was born in Prague, Czechoslovakia, in 1926 of White Russian emigre parents.

I went to Czechoslovakian and Russian schools in Prague. Then I studied at the University of Munich and lately at Brooklyn College here in the United States in New York City.

During the Second World War, I was active in several Czechoslovakian and Russian anti-Communist groups, and working in that field I gained a very intimate knowledge of tactics and methods of international communism.

Mr. ARENS. This was behind the Iron Curtain and in Czechoslovakia, was it not?

Mr. ILYINSKY. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. Give us a word of your experience, please.

Mr. WILLIS. First, when did you come to this country, so that we can get the dates?

Mr. ILYINSKY. In September of 1947 I came to the United States.

Mr. ARENS. If you please, give us a word of your experience in the anti-Communist movement behind the Iron Curtain.

Mr. ILYINSKY. I can say only that I have suffered greatly through my activities because, shortly after the war, I was imprisoned by the Communists and kept in prisons in different eastern European countries, and my father was kidnaped from western Germany in 1945, and I haven't heard of him since.

Mr. ARENS. Were you imprisoned by the Communists?

Mr. ILYINSKY. That is right, sir.

Mr. ARENS. What sentence did you receive?

Mr. ILYINSKY. I had been sentenced to 25 years of hard labor.

Mr. ARENS. And you escaped?

Mr. ILYINSKY. That is right, sir.

Mr. ARENS. I would say for the benefit of the members of the committee who are not acquainted with Mr. Ilyinsky, that he has detailed information he could give on his own experiences which are of great interest, but they are not germane to the subject matter the committee is pursuing today so that, if it meets with the pleasure of the committee, we will not get into his numerous experiences in the underground movement.

With that background, can you give the committee some of the background of the international youth organization created and controlled by the Communist conspiracy?

Mr. ILYINSKY. Yes, sir. I can.

I would like to point out that any statements that I make in this report are my personal views which were formed through the study of the Communist youth propaganda materials at the Customs Service, but they do not express the opinions of the Treasury Department, as such.

Mr. ARENS. The reason for that is that this has not actually been officially processed through the Treasury Department?

Mr. ILYINSKY. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. But you have made this study at the request of the chairman of this committee in collaboration with other persons of the Customs Service who are likewise experienced in the particular area of Communist propaganda among youth groups, is that correct?

Mr. ILYINSKY. That is correct, yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Would you proceed, then, with your presentation with reference to the background of the international Communist youth groups?

Mr. ILYINSKY. The Communist grand design of world conquest reserved an extremely important place for its so-called international front which can be construed to be the backbone of a worldwide Communist fifth column.

As far back as in 1926, the ruling body of the international Communist conspiracy, the Comintern, clearly stated that:

The first part of our task is to build up, not only Communist organizations, but other organizations as well; above all, mass organizations sympathizing with our aims and able to aid us for special purposes * * *. Besides this, we require a number of more or less firmly established (organizational) fulcrums which we can utilize for our further work, insuring that we are not condemned to the task of only influencing the mass politically, merely to see this mass influence constantly slip through our hands.

(At this point, Mr. Tuck returned to the hearing room.)

Mr. ILYINSKY (continuing):

We must create a whole solar system of organizations and smaller committees around the Communist Party, smaller organizations, so to speak, actually working under the influence of the Party but not under its mechanical control * * *.

This statement which I just reported was made in 1926 by one of the leading members of the Russian Communist Party, O. V. Kuusinen, and it was published in a Report of the Commission for Work Among the Masses.

Of course, special attention is given by the Communists to the youth sector of the international front Communist projects, youth naturally

holding in its hands the future of mankind. The program of the prototype of the present day Communist-directed international youth front of the Young Communist International, as announced in the Fifth YCI Congress in Moscow in 1929, revealed the basic operating techniques of the Communist conspiracy against the youth of the world:

In its struggle against capitalism, the Young Communist League is continually compelled to combine its open legal activity with illegal and semi-legal work and therefore to overstep the limits laid down for it by bourgeois legality * * *. For this purpose it creates various legal organizations (including political ones) of the working youth. But the Young Communist League looks upon these organizations only as legal forms of work for the illegal Young Communist League.

To quote another eminent Communist, the founder of the Soviet State, Lenin emphasized that:

The whole object of training and educating the youth of today should be to imbue them with Communist ethics * * *. Our morality is entirely subordinated to the interests of the class struggle * * *. The basis of Communist morality is the struggle for the consolidation of Communism.

This is from the Collected Works of Lenin, the chapter on Tasks of the Youth League.

As in other fields of the Communist international front setup, the appeal to youth is provided by broad and/or specific humanitarian issues, which deserve the sympathy of all honest men—peace, disarmament, democracy, the economic, scientific, and educational advance of mankind—rather than by outright propagation of the Communist ideology as such. The purpose of the Communist-directed youth movement is not so much to convert youth directly to communism, as to expose it to Communist influence in order to be able first to mobilize youth for specific actions, and then gradually to enlist the young people into the ranks of active Communist sympathizers or even Communist Party members.

(At this point, Mr. Miller left the hearing room.)

Mr. ILYINSKY (reading):

As early as 1932, Stalin declared that the establishment of Communism in colonial lands presented no problems, but the greatest difficulties lay in the question of how Communism would develop when the so-called underdeveloped countries obtained their independence. Stalin went on to point out that at this critical moment it would be absolutely necessary to convince the youth in the aspiring countries that Communism was supreme and immediately to make them familiar with the Communist ideology. One way of doing this is by mass demonstrations on a large scale * * *.

And, as I shall attempt to show the committee, this is exactly the line that was followed by the present international Communist youth movement.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Ilyinsky, tell us about the origins and development of the principal international Communist fronts for the purpose of penetrating youth.

Mr. ILYINSKY. Toward the end of World War II, there was a widespread sentiment among many people in different professions, in different fields, for creation of international bodies which would enable people to establish a firm basis for long lasting peace and, on that occasion, many organizations of that nature were formed.

For instance, the World Federation of Trade Unions, the World Council of Peace, Women's International Democratic Federation, the

International Association of Democratic Lawyers, the International Organization of Journalists, the World Federation of Scientific Workers; these are, all of them, Communist-front organizations.

Now, we here are concerned particularly with those organizations which deal directly with youth and there are two major international Communist organizations which we shall mention.

One of them is known as WFDY, the World Federation of Democratic Youth, and the other is IUS, the International Union of Students.

Mr. ARENS. Would you give us a little of the background of each of these two major international organizations designed for penetration of youth?

Mr. ILYINSKY. Yes, sir. The idea of an international youth organization has appeared at the same time in several countries of the world; in some democratic countries, for instance, in England, and also behind the Iron Curtain, and in Poland and Czechoslovakia, and, of course, in the Soviet Union.

These different student unions have attempted to contact all other student bodies in different countries in order to call a student congress which would create one unified student organization into a national student organization.

Two of these groups have been most active in this respect. One of them was the Czechoslovakian Union of Students which, of course, attempted to draw the international student movement to Prague, and then there was a group of democratic students in England which contacted many student bodies in the western countries.

In order to establish unity in the student movement, these two centers, the Prague center and the London center, went into complicated dealings with each other to find a common ground on which they could work.

Finally, it was decided that they will work together and they adopted a resolution agreeing to disagree on political issues. This was the major point. The western student groups were afraid if they joined the same group with the Communist students that they would not be allowed to speak freely and, therefore, this resolution was adopted, but in the immediate future, though, every one who disagreed with the Reds was called a Fascist by them and was subject to expulsion from the newly formed federation.

Now, the London Preparatory Committee decided to convene a student congress in London in November of 1945 and, consequently, at that date, the World Federation of Democratic Youth was founded following a World Youth Conference which was held a few days prior to the foundation of the federation.

The World Youth Conference was convened under the initiative of Communists and Communist controlled delegations from 63 countries who allegedly represented 30 million people.

(At this point, Mr. Scherer entered the hearing room.)

Mr. ILYINSKY. Yet, the interesting point is that actually only three and a half percent of the delegates openly represented Communist organizations while the rest of the delegates came from various religious groups, socialist and trade union organizations, sport federations, and so forth.

Now, the Communist elements in the World Youth Conference and in the World Federation of Democratic Youth have managed through skillful maneuvers, disciplined action, and voting as a block, to dominate the non-Communist majority and to obtain offices in WFDY.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have a similar background with reference to the IUS, International Union of Students?

Mr. ILYINSKY. That is right, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Would you kindly present it?

Mr. ILYINSKY. The student constitutional convention which founded the International Union of Students took place in Prague in August, 1946. Those who participated were drawn from all parts of the world and represented every major political and religious belief. Nevertheless, the congress ended with Communists in control of this newly formed International Union of Students.

During the first postwar student deliberations in London, the Communists had been in a minority but they obtained a majority on the International Preparatory Committee and this committee then gave unrestricted power to the executive body; against the explicit decision of the London meeting they moved the constitutional convention from Paris to Prague; by control of the credentials assured Communist influence of the constitutional convention; by control of the preparations, they abandoned an established agenda and substituted a new and controversial one on the day before the opening session.

They made no comprehensive report on its activities to the congress, the body to which theoretically the executive body was responsible, but which in fact the Communist-dominated committee now controlled.

Now, the Communist goal in the Prague conference was to make the student union a sufficiently disciplined body to be controlled from the center. They wanted the member organizations pledged to carry out all decisions of the executive body. This center, of course, was to be under clandestine Communist Party direction.

Within three months of the end of the congress, the Communists took another step to secure complete control of the IUS.

A secretariat was created and given authority in the absence of the executive for development of all policies.

This is all that I could say at that point.

Mr. ARENS. Would you kindly tell us which of these two groups, the WFDY or the IUS, controlled by the Communists, is the most active in putting on the international Communist festivals for youth?

Mr. ILYINSKY. Actually, both of them participate.

Mr. ARENS. And can you comment on the attendance at festivals and congresses by the youth groups?

Mr. ILYINSKY. Yes, sir. The idea of organizing mass meetings of the festival type, as we have seen, has already been germane in a statement that Stalin made in 1932, so that actually, as soon as the WFDY and IUS became organized bodies, their first decision was to organize festivals. According to their idea, a festival was supposed to be a mass meeting of youth from all countries.

Great attention was given to the fact that an attempt was made to attract to the festivals not only Communist youth or fellow traveler youth, but neutral youth, youth which would be just attracted

by the idea of meeting hundreds and hundreds of members of other nations.

Mr. ARENS. What about the various appeals prepared by these international organizations with particular attention to international problems which are of direct or immediate concern to youth?

Mr. ILYINSKY. Well, the WFDY and IUS, in their numerous publications, which come out almost every week, always have appeals to youth. These appeals are intended to draw the attention of the youth to some particular problem and to mobilize the youth to take some definite action.

Mr. ARENS. I see you have brought with you samples of material. Is this material typical material which is now being disseminated to schools and colleges over this country?

Mr. ILYINSKY. That is right, sir. It is.

Mr. ARENS. Does this material anywhere in it say, "This is Communist propaganda"?

Mr. ILYINSKY. No, never.

Mr. ARENS. Is any of it labeled in accordance with the registration provisions of the Foreign Agents Registration Act as Communist propaganda?

Mr. ILYINSKY. I have seen some of it labeled but most of it comes without any label at all.

Mr. ARENS. Would you kindly, at your own pace and with brevity, if you please, allude to each of several of the publications which you have brought here as typical exhibits of material being sent by these international Communist youth groups to schools and colleges in the United States?

Mr. ILYINSKY. Yes. If you allow me, I will try to characterize them and then I will pick them up.

Mr. ARENS. Will you please do so, and without in any sense being discourteous to you, may I say that the committee will be obliged to leave here very shortly to be in attendance on the floor, so that, if you could abbreviate your presentation with reference to that, I am sure the committee would appreciate it.

Mr. ILYINSKY. Surely. The WFDY and IUS publish at least 40 periodical publications.

Mr. ARENS. How many?

Mr. ILYINSKY. At least 40, of which some of them come out once a week, some come out twice monthly, some come out monthly, and some are not periodicals. They are published by the same house and contain a similar type of material, but the title would be changed so as not to be too conspicuous.

The WFDY publishes the main magazine of the international youth movement which is called the World Youth.

Mr. ARENS. Where is that published?

Mr. ILYINSKY. It is published in Budapest, which is the main center of the WFDY.

Mr. ARENS. Where does the IUS material emanate from?

Mr. ILYINSKY. The IUS material is usually published in different countries. The same material is being translated into Russian, Swedish, and into every major language of the world and published in these particular countries.

Mr. ARENS. Would you stand here, please, Mr. Ilyinsky, and tell the committee, as you pick up these various volumes, a word about each of them.

The CHAIRMAN. Before you go into that, may I ask you this question. You have stated that 1,500,000 pieces came into New Orleans. Do you know how many pieces came into the entire United States for distribution among students?

Mr. ILYINSKY. No, sir. We do not have any figures as of this point because we have not tabulated them.

Mr. ARENS. It comes in through forty-odd ports, as I understand it.

Mr. ILYINSKY. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. Is New Orleans a typical port of entry for this material?

Mr. ILYINSKY. I don't think so. I think much more material would come through New York and San Francisco.

Mr. ARENS. Then New Orleans processed less than other ports and, in the course of the last year, New Orleans processed in the nature of 300,000 packages of this material, is that correct?

Mr. ILYINSKY. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. And every school and college virtually in this country is a recipient of this material, is that correct?

Mr. ILYINSKY. That is correct.

Mr. DOYLE. I think you said that each of those packages contained as many as five separate pieces.

Mr. ILYINSKY. Yes, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. So that would be five times 300,000.

Mr. ILYINSKY. Yes, sir.

The interesting part about these publications is that they come unsolicited. They don't only send it to the colleges. Individuals whose names appear some place on a letterhead of a student organization might receive it also.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there any advertising in any of this?

Mr. ILYINSKY. No, there is no advertising. These magazines are very well published. Some of them seem to be interesting.

Let's see this. World Student News. This is a monthly magazine that is published in 12 languages. That means that there are 12 separate editions published in 12 different countries.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Ilyinsky, may I attempt to abbreviate the presentation here by asking you, do you see the typical Communist line in all of these publications emanating from these two international Communist controlled groups?

Mr. ILYINSKY. Oh, yes.

Mr. ARENS. Does this material, likewise, pretty well blanket the world in different languages?

Mr. ILYINSKY. Yes, but the main attention is always given to the United States.

Mr. ARENS. The United States is the main target?

Mr. ILYINSKY. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. Is the amount or quantity of this material increasing or decreasing?

Mr. ILYINSKY. It is increasing, especially around the time when they have the festival or any other major event.

Mr. ARENS. There are here a number of different publications. How many different publications are there?

Mr. ILYINSKY. I would say roughly about forty.

Mr. ARENS. Do all forty of the various types of publications hit each school, college, library, and student council in the country so far as you can ascertain?

Mr. ILYINSKY. As far as I can ascertain.

Mr. SCHERER. Are all of those printed in 12 different languages?

Mr. ILYINSKY. Not all of them, no. World Student News is and World Youth. Some might be printed in three languages, for instance. It all depends upon the particular publication.

Mr. SCHERER. But they are printed generally in more than one language?

Mr. ILYINSKY. Yes.

Mr. WILLIS. May I suggest, Mr. Chairman, that for our convenience counsel have someone peruse these volumes and list the names of some of the periodicals for this record. We will forget the package now but can we have the names of all the periodicals for the committee files?

The CHAIRMAN. So ordered.

(See Appendix, p. 1421, for list of magazine titles.)

Mr. ARENS. May I ask a question on one other subject?

Can you give the committee now a word about the international "pen pal movement" which is sponsored by the Communist controlled youth groups?

Mr. ILYINSKY. Yes, sir. Most of these publications that I have here contain several pages which have addresses of people who like to correspond with people from other countries.

Now, most of these addresses are the addresses of boys and girls, of students from behind the Iron Curtain, and some issues may have 200 or 300 names.

The purpose of this is to organize propaganda, not only through channels of publications, but through personal contact.

I know myself that I have been interested to find out what is underneath, what is covered by this, and I have written to several of these people that have advertised in these magazines in the attempt to exchange stamps or exchange picture cards which is the official reason they give.

Invariably, all of them devote a long letter to problems of this particular hobby, stamp collecting or something else, and in the end they would have about five or six sentences of this nature:

The world is plagued by international tensions. As you know, the Soviet Union or the Communist bloc is the champion of peace. Who creates these international tensions? The tensions are created by the capitalists. You live in a capitalist country. Capitalist countries supposedly have a democratic setup. You believe in democracy. Why don't you speak up, write to your Congressman, make a campaign to the newspapers, protest against this administration, for instance.

Mr. ARENS. In other words, Mr. Ilyinsky, is it a fair summary of your interpretation of this pen pal movement that the international Communist apparatus operating through these two principal international youth fronts is using the pen pal movement in order to attempt to indoctrinate or condition the minds of the American youth who would be the recipients of letters from behind the Iron Curtain?

Mr. ILYINSKY. Yes, sir. Exactly.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that we have covered the highlights of the presentation of Mr. Ilyinsky's testimony and that concludes the staff interrogation.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Ilyinsky, I am sure that I am expressing the feeling of the entire committee when I say that we feel deeply indebted to you and other Treasury Department personnel for their co-operation in this very difficult task.

We certainly appreciate the efforts that you have expended in working on this problem.

Mr. ILYINSKY. Thank you very much, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will stand adjourned to meet at ten o'clock tomorrow morning.

(Committee members present: Representatives Francis E. Walter, Clyde Doyle, William M. Tuck, and Gordon H. Scherer.)

(Whereupon, at 11:55 a.m., Tuesday, February 2, 1960, the subcommittee adjourned to reconvene at 10:00 a.m., Wednesday, February 3, 1960.)

COMMUNIST TRAINING OPERATIONS

Part 2

(Communist Activities and Propaganda Among Youth Groups)

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 3, 1960

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
WASHINGTON, D.C.

PUBLIC HEARINGS

The subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to recess, at 10:05 a.m., in the Caucus Room, Old House Office Building, Washington, D. C., Hon. Francis E. Walter (chairman) presiding.

Subcommittee members: Representatives Francis E. Walter, chairman, Pennsylvania; Clyde Doyle, California; Edwin E. Willis, Louisiana; Donald L. Jackson, California; and Gordon H. Scherer, Ohio.

Committee members present during hearings: Representatives Walter; Doyle; Moulder, Missouri; Willis; Tuck, Virginia; Scherer; Miller, New York; and Johansen, Michigan. (Appearances as noted.)

Staff members present: Richard Arens, staff director, Donald T. Appell and Robert H. Goldsborough, investigators.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will be in order.

Call your first witness, Mr. Arens.

Mr. ARENS. Albert Gaillard, will you please come forward?

The CHAIRMAN. Raise your right hand, please.

Do you swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. GAILLARD. I do.

Mr. ARENS. Sit down, please.

TESTIMONY OF ALBERT GAILLARD

Mr. ARENS. Please state your name.

Mr. GAILLARD. My name is Albert Gaillard, and I live in New York City.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you spell your last name?

Mr. GAILLARD. G-a-i-l-l-a-r-d.

Mr. ARENS. Before we go any further in your testimony, just tell this committee what happened this morning when you were getting ready to come over to testify before this committee.

Mr. GAILLARD. It happened this morning. This morning about ten minutes to nine at the Dunbar Hotel on 15th and U, I met Jesse Gray

who is former regional organizer of the Communist Party in Harlem, and Jesse Gray asked me was I going to testify in favor of the Government and I tell him that I didn't know, that "You would find out in court at 10 o'clock this morning"; so he asked me was I going to take the fifth amendment. So I told him I didn't know whether I was going to take the fifth amendment or not.

And Jesse Gray told me if I testify for the Government favor, he said, I won't be able to come back in my community in Harlem because tomorrow morning he would have leaflets all over the community about me.

For that reason I am afraid to go back to Harlem for a while.

Mr. ARENS. Did you know Jesse Gray as a member of the Communist Party during your service in the Communist Party?

Mr. GAILLARD. Yes, I know Jesse Gray as a member of the Communist Party during my couple years and a half in the Communist Party.

Mr. ARENS. Jesse Gray is in the hearing room today?

Mr. GAILLARD. Yes, he is sitting right out there in the audience.

The CHAIRMAN. Has he been subpoenaed?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, he is under subpoena.

The CHAIRMAN. We will get to him later on.

Don't be disturbed by the threats of such people. In a country such as ours loyal people are protected, and I just want to warn these smart nobodys that there will come a day when they will appreciate the fact that they live in a republic.

Go ahead, Mr. Arens.

Mr. ARENS. Albert, tell us a little bit about your personal life before we get into your service in the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. Before you go on, Mr. Arens, did you report this to the Federal Bureau of Investigation?

Mr. ARENS. He told me about it two minutes ago, Mr. Walter. We have assured him he will have all the protection of the Federal Government and, if either Jesse Gray or any of the other Communists who are under subpoena before this committee, lay a hand on him, threaten him, or anything of the kind, they will be brought to task.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us notify the FBI now.

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir.

Albert, tell us just a word about your own personal life before you became associated with the Communist Party.

Mr. GAILLARD. I was born December 12, 1939, in Charleston, South Carolina, and I attended Bruce Elementary School in Charleston, South Carolina, and then I left South Carolina.

I came to New York in 1950 and I attended P.S. 89 in New York and also attended Junior High School 139 in New York City; also attended Morris High School up in the Bronx, and for about a year I was up at the Otisville Training School for Boys because of family difficulty that I had with my family at home.

This is when I first came in contact with anything involved with the Communist Party. I met a youth up at the State Training School who introduced me to communism, and that is when I first came in contact with them.

Mr. ARENS. It is the information of the committee that your sojourn at the training school was not in any sense because of any delinquency

of any kind, but that you were afforded a home there while they were undertaking to find foster parents for you; is that correct?

Mr. GAILLARD. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Tell us, if you please, how you first joined the Communist Party and when you joined the Communist Party.

Mr. GAILLARD. Well, during my time at Otisville State Training School this fellow, Gordon Danielsen, was in the same dormitory that I was in at Otisville State Training School.

So usually every night while the rest of the boys would be out playing, on recreation, I would usually be out reading a book at a table by myself.

So Gordon Danielsen came over to me and he started talking to me. So one night he took a piece of white paper, and he drew a diagram and he started explaining to me about the different Socialist states and what communism was all about.

So he suggested when I got out that I join up with the Communist Party.

He had given me a name of a pastor who lived out in Long Island, that he would help me get into the party. He said this pastor's name was not on record because of he being a minister he didn't want to be known.

So anyway, when I got out of Otisville State Training School, this address that Gordon Danielsen gave me, I lost this address. So afterward one Sunday morning I was—before this happened I went to the party headquarters on 26th Street twice and each time that I went to try to join the party they told me that I couldn't get into the party, that I would have to have two persons that I know very well in good standing with the Communist Party to recommend me.

Mr. ARENS. What year was it that you were in the process of joining the Communist Party?

Mr. GAILLARD. I was in the process of joining the Communist Party—I think it was in December 1956—and I finally got in, in January 1957.

Mr. ARENS. Tell us how you got into the party, what you actually did to become a Communist.

Mr. GAILLARD. Well, this friend, I met him at an uncle's house of mine—his name was Lennie McSwain. He told me he was active in the party out in Jersey City.

One morning we was discussing about international and different problems. So he told me why don't I join up with the Communist Party since I seemed to talk so outspoken.

So I told him I tried to get into the Communist Party twice and each time they told me I have to have someone that knew me well to recommend me.

So afterward he told me to go down to the party headquarters again. So finally that Monday, I think about 11—Monday morning about 11 or 12 o'clock, I went down at the party headquarters and this time they didn't refuse me.

They take me right downstairs and they give me a paper and asked me to sign my name and my address and my telephone number on it.

This woman—I cannot recall her name—

Mr. ARENS. Is it your understanding that Lennie McSwain interceded for you or made arrangements for you to actually get into the party?

Mr. GAILLARD. Right.

Mr. ARENS. This was at party headquarters?

Mr. GAILLARD. Right, party headquarters.

Mr. ARENS. Tell us what happened next after you actually became a Communist.

Mr. GAILLARD. That same night before I left the party headquarters they told me it would be in 4 or 5 weeks that someone from the party would get in touch with me.

That same night when I got home about seven o'clock I got a call from Mr. Jesse Gray who was regional organizer of the Communist Party at the time in Harlem.

Mr. ARENS. Is he the same person who approached you this morning at the hotel?

Mr. GAILLARD. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Go right ahead and tell us what happened.

Mr. GAILLARD. So Jesse Gray asked me to meet him at a church in Harlem. I think it was 132d or 133d Street. It was one of the streets.

I met Jesse Gray and another friend of myself by the name of Herbert Williams who also was a member of the Communist Party.

At that time Mr. Gray told me that the Communist Party was weak in this country because of lacking of the Negro youth. He told me that the Communist Party at this special time did not have a Negro youth movement up in Harlem.

He said I was the only Negro youth from Harlem that come up and joined the Communist Party in the last couple years. He told me that he would work very closely with me to see that I get a youth movement started in Harlem.

So afterward I agreed with him. Then a week later I went to Adelphi Hall on 14th Street which the Communist Party held a meeting there.

At this meeting Ben Davis, the chairman of the New York State Communist Party, was the main speaker at this meeting. After the meeting was over with, Mr. Gray turned and introduced me to Ben Davis and he was very pleased to meet me and happy for the fact that he had had a Negro youth from Harlem joined up with the Communist Party.

Mr. Davis also said to me himself that the party needed a Negro youth movement in Harlem. He said because the Communist Party is not strong without the Negro youth behind it.

Mr. Davis assigned Jesse Gray, who was regional organizer at the time, to work with me very closely, and Mr. Davis said to Mr. Gray that, "I want you to report back to me because I want to be working closely with them, and I will finance the money and so forth to see that a youth movement in Harlem gets started."

Mr. ARENS. Then what happened next, please?

Mr. GAILLARD. What happened next—afterward I had a couple meetings with Mr. Gray at his home at 1809 7th Avenue in New York City and at this meeting me and Mr. Gray were discussing how could we get the youth to organize to come into the youth movement.

So first of all, Mr. Gray from his experience he told me that, "You cannot bring the idea of Communists over to the Negro youth in this community."

He said, "You have to have it on a social basis and then you can trick them to come into this youth movement."

So I went along with the plan with Mr. Jesse Gray.

So afterward we passed out our first leaflets and there was supposed to be a free youth social at 203 West 126th Street which was one of the party headquarters that they have in Harlem, and they still have it, too.

So at this first youth gathering we had about 40 or 45 Negro youths that have attended this youth gathering. And Mr. Gray, he came in about a couple hours after this youth event have started.

Mr. Gray made a speech to the Negro youth concerning the racial problem—he said, what the Negro people is facing in this country.

So afterward that following week we had a couple more meetings. Then from there on in we started joining the youth movement, and we called it the Harlem Youth Congress.

Mr. ARENS. Who were the officers of the Harlem Youth Congress?

Mr. GAILLARD. Well, in the Harlem Youth Congress I, myself, Albert Gaillard, was president of the Harlem Youth Congress, and Ernest Harris, who is a Negro fellow, too—he was the vice president of the Harlem Youth Congress.

Then I have another friend, Willie Ervin. He was also one of the officers of the Harlem Youth Congress.

Mr. ARENS. To whom did you pay your dues as a Communist?

Mr. GAILLARD. As a Communist twice I paid dues to Jesse Gray. Then after the youth movement have got started up on its feet, we also had a Chinese girl—I think she was half Chinese—her name was Alma Moy, and she was the secretary for the Harlem Youth Congress and she started taking up the dues from there on in.

Mr. ARENS. Tell us how many members were there in the Harlem Youth Congress during your presidency.

Mr. GAILLARD. During my presidency in the Harlem Youth Congress, at first, when we first started out, it was at least about 40 members in the Harlem Youth Congress. After they find out that we was just a Communist front, a lot of them drop out and at the time the Ben Davis campaign started we only had 10 or 11 youth left.

Mr. ARENS. Within the Harlem Youth Congress was there a hard core of young Communists of whom you were one?

Mr. GAILLARD. Yes, there was, at least about three or four of them.

Mr. ARENS. Did the hard core of the young Communists in Harlem of which you were the president likewise organize other groups beside the Harlem Youth Congress?

Mr. GAILLARD. Yes. We also have tried to organize the Puerto Rican youth. There was one Puerto Rican girl by the name of Hattie—that is all I know her by—and we decided that we will have a separate meeting at 110th Street in Lenox, which Mr. Gray's office is up there. We have used his office up there to have these meetings with these Puerto Rican youth and when we organized these Puerto Rican youth we didn't organize them in the name of the Harlem Youth Congress. I think we organized them in the name of Youth for Civil Rights or Youth for something—I can't recall the name of it.

Mr. ARENS. Did you organize also a youth committee for Ben Davis?

Mr. GAILLARD. Yes. When the Ben Davis campaign was going on we organized a Youth Committee for Ben Davis. I myself took the role of being the president of the Youth Committee for Ben Davis, too, because Mr. Davis and Mr. Gray say that it would be better for a good Communist to be the head of any Communist youth movement that we have. And this was the reason why I take it upon myself to become president of the Youth Committee for Ben Davis, and Mr. Davis, he was more in favor of the Youth Committee for Ben Davis than he was for the Communist front which was Harlem Youth Congress.

Mr. ARENS. Did you have membership cards in the young Communists clique of which you were the head?

Mr. GAILLARD. No, we didn't have any membership cards because it came from the party official down South that they didn't want any of their youths to have membership cards in case they would be picked up by the FBI or asked for any information, and they would not have any identification which would be relating them to the Communist Party.

Mr. ARENS. Did you have any training sessions?

Mr. GAILLARD. Yes. We have held classes which was educational. We have.

Mr. ARENS. Were those Communist training sessions?

Mr. GAILLARD. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Where were they held and when?

Mr. GAILLARD. First, we had some classes up at our office at 203 West 126th Street, and how did they first start out. The classes they first start off talking about the Negro people problem that has happened to the Negro people, and then they would tie in with Marxism and Leninism.

Mr. ARENS. Who were some of the instructors at these training classes?

Mr. GAILLARD. Some of the instructors at these training classes—Mr. Gray was one instructor of these training classes and also Mr. Davis himself, and Edna—I can't recall her last name.

But anyway Mr. Gray asked this Negro woman by the name of Edna to work along with the youth in these Communist Party education process and they worked with us for a couple of weeks and then she seemed like she lost interest.

Mr. ARENS. How many were in attendance at the training classes?

Mr. GAILLARD. I think at least every class we had there was about 15 or 17 would show up each time.

Mr. ARENS. From whom did you receive your orders and directions as head of the Harlem youth section of the Communist Party?

Mr. GAILLARD. I received my orders and instructions from Ben Davis and Mr. Gray. But usually it would be Mr. Gray because Mr. Gray would get his orders from Ben Davis and he would give it to me.

Mr. ARENS. Did the other Communist youth meet in closed sessions as comrades?

Mr. GAILLARD. Yes. This is how, the way we did it. Mostly those who came in on the left side—we had a meeting every Tuesday night with the hard-core members of the Communists.

Mr. ARENS. Were you the head of that group?

Mr. GAILLARD. Yes, I was the head of it also.

Mr. ARENS. May I ask you: Did you know as a Communist, because of your attendance in closed sessions of the hard core of the Communist youth section, Jesse Gray as a Communist?

Mr. GAILLARD. Yes, I know Jesse Gray as a member of the Communist Party because he was regional organizer in Harlem of the Communist Party.

Mr. ARENS. Did you know in like manner as a Communist, Hunter Pitts O'Dell?

Mr. GAILLARD. Yes, I know Hunter Pitts O'Dell as a member of the Communist Party. Before I go on, I would like to give a little estimation of how I know Hunter Pitts O'Dell, if you want me to go on.

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. GAILLARD. During the time when the Ben Davis campaign was going on, I met Hunter Pitts O'Dell at Mr. Gray's house. The first time I met Mr. O'Dell, Mr. Gray introduced me to Mr. O'Dell as a friend of his for a number of years, and he told me that Mr. O'Dell was an insurance man and said that he was still going to school to get his master's degree.

At that time I believed Mr. Gray because this was the first time that I ever come in contact with Mr. O'Dell.

So after a couple weeks passed, one day I went up to Mr. Gray's house and at the time Mr. Gray wasn't home, but Hunter was at Mr. Gray's house and Mrs. Gray had let me in.

So me and Hunter, we got into a conversation in the kitchen, and he told me that he was an insurance man. He said that he worked in the South in Negroes' affairs for the Communist Party and that he was an undercover agent working along with the Communist Party and said he had to be very careful because he had had 20 years' indictment behind him in the State of Louisiana.

And that is how I came to know Mr. O'Dell.

Mr. ARENS. A little later on we will get into your activities with Hunter Pitts O'Dell.

Did you know in like manner as a member of the Communist Party, because of your attendance with him in a closed, hard-core session, Alan McGowan?

Mr. GAILLARD. Yes, I know Alan McGowan to be a member of the Communist Party and how I first met Alan McGowan. Jack Rosen, or either Jake Rosen, he is sitting right there in the audience now—he was the first one that introduced me to Alan McGowan at Adelphi Hall on 14th Street and said Mr. McGowan was a member of the Communist Party, and Alan McGowan then admitted to me himself that he was a member of the Communist Party and also one night when we was coming from a meeting from Adelphi Hall on 14th Street there was me, Alan McGowan, Freeman Robinson. We all would take the 7th Avenue subway express together. And Alan McGowan, even he started talking to me and I get to know him a little while because he was mostly interested in what the youth movement in Harlem was doing.

That is how I come to know Mr. McGowan to be a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. ARENS. Did you in like manner know as a comrade, as a Communist, as a member of the Communist Party, Jacob Rosen?

Mr. GAILLARD. Yes, I know Jacob Rosen to be a member of the Communist Party. When I first met Mr. Rosen, Freeman Robinson, a member of the Communist Party, had brought Mr. Rosen to Harlem at one of the Communist Party youth meetings that he was having that Sunday and he introduced me to Mr. Rosen.

At this time Mr. Rosen was head of the educational youth group called SCOPE, and he was trying to get the Negro youth from Harlem to take courses into SCOPE. But at this time he was very close to the party, he was a member of the party not yet.

So afterward he told me how much they charged for the courses, but he told me that both you can get some of your Negro youth to take up these courses, that "We would let you all have it free."

That is how come I got to know Mr. Jack Rosen and then later on a couple months later he joined up with the Communist Party.

Mr. ARENS. Did you know in like manner as a member of the Communist Party, Joanne Grant?

Mr. GAILLARD. Yes, I know Joanne Grant to be a member of the Communist Party. I have met her several times, but I don't know her as well as I know Alan McGowan and Jack Rosen.

Mr. ARENS. Did you serve in a closed party session with Joanne Grant?

Mr. GAILLARD. Yes, I served in closed session twice at Adelphi Hall with Miss Grant, because I can point her out in the audience.

Mr. ARENS. Did you know in like manner as a member of the Communist Party, Paul Robeson, Jr.?

Mr. GAILLARD. Yes, I know Paul Robeson, Jr., to be a member of the Communist Party. My first experience of knowing Paul Robeson, Jr., was when the Ben Davis campaign was going on the year before last, I think it was in the summer of 1958, and Paul Robeson, Jr., was up at the headquarters mostly all the time during when the Ben Davis campaign was going on, and there was several times that the party have had private session meetings at the party headquarters which Paul Robeson, Jr., he would take part in these meetings himself, and I also was invited by Ben Davis to sit in on one of these meetings.

(At this point, Mr. Willis entered the hearing room.)

Mr. ARENS. Did you know in like manner as a member of the Communist Party because of your attendance with him in a closed party session, Marvin Markman?

Mr. GAILLARD. Yes, I know Marvin Markman to be a member of the Communist Party because Marvin Markman and Alan McGowan were very close friends in the youth league. Anywhere you would see Alan McGowan you would see Marvin also. He would also sit in Communist Party meetings with Alan McGowan.

Mr. ARENS. Did you have any experience with Ben Davis with reference to a picket program which Davis had devised for the young Communists to set up?

Mr. GAILLARD. Yes, I have had.

Mr. ARENS. Would you tell us about that please?

Mr. GAILLARD. I think it was in the summer of 1958 when there was an incident up in the Bronx when there was a Negro youth that was shot by cops. And so Jesse Gray and Mr. Davis suggested that the Negro youth, that we should draw a picket line by the 23rd Pre-

cinct on 123rd Street between 7th and 8th Avenue. They also suggest that we call up the Amsterdam News and tell them that a Negro youth is going to picket the police people. The reason for that—why they want this picket line to take place—so that it will give the Communist Party an advantage.

Mr. ARENS. Did he say anything to you about any of your young Communists attacking the police or getting thrown in jail?

Mr. GAILLARD. They had said to us that if the police tried to make us move to refuse to move because it will be a big incident and the police will go around pushing around the Negro youth up in Harlem and say this will be a good political advantage for the Communist Party and for the youth movement itself.

But the reason why this picket line didn't take place, this lady, Mrs. Corley, who lived up in the Bronx, whose son was the one that was killed—Jesse Gray suggested that we call her and we called her to try to get into the case, and she in turn gave me her lawyer's phone number and told me to call her lawyer and ask him.

So I called her lawyer and used the name of the Harlem Youth Congress and told him we was very interested in this case and we would like some publicity to get behind this case, and they went along with it until they found that we was members of the Communist Party and that we was just a Communist Party front.

After they found out we was a member of the Communist Party front, Mrs. Corley and her lawyer told us to get out of the case before they tried it.

Mr. ARENS. Tell us of your experience in running the Harlem youth section of the Communist Party in soliciting names for petitions for Ben Davis.

Mr. GAILLARD. During the time of the Ben Davis campaign when he was running for State Senator in the 21st Senatorial District against State Senator James Watson, when the petition campaign was going on, I, myself, and another Communist Party member by the name of Carla Reeve who was in the party, and I think she is still a member of the party—me and Carla Reeve went one Saturday morning to gather names on the petition.

This particular Negro woman that we went to—I think it was 127th or 128th Street—we asked her to sign this Communist Party petition. She kind of hesitated because she did not want to sign it. When we said it was the People's Rights Party she wanted to know whether the People's Rights Party was just a Communist Party front. She asked me and Carla and said, "Isn't Ben Davis—Isn't he a member of the Communist Party?"

And Carla Reeve she tried to trick this Negro woman and said, "Nope, he is not a member of the Communist Party."

So she said, "Because I doesn't want to get into any difficulty, because I doesn't want to sign any Communist Party petition whatsoever, because I doesn't want nothing to do with communism."

So anyway Carla tried to trick her so she can sign it. I felt sorry for her and I told her, "Please do not sign the petition because it is a Communist Party petition and Ben Davis is chairman of the New York State Communist Party."

And Carla Reeve got mad and she went back to the party headquarters and she said to Mr. Davis about this incident what happened and Mr. Davis was mad about me.

And he said to me, these exact words—excuse me for using this one word in court—but he said, “I don’t give a damn about how we hurt one or two individuals.”

He said, “If we hurt one or two persons I don’t give a damn as long as the Communist Party could achieve their victory.”

And from Mr. Davis’ statement I feel very hurt. The reason why I feel very hurt, if the Communist Party is supposed to be a party to fight for the Negro people as they claim, why would the Communist Party say about this woman who didn’t want to sign a petition and why would the higher officials in the party say he doesn’t give a damn about her.

I think that Mr. Davis doesn’t care about this one Negro woman and then the Communist Party doesn’t care about the whole Negro people. They are only using the Negro people for their own advantages.

Mr. ARENS. Albert, tell us about your experience in the underground movement to organize a youth movement in the South among Negroes.

Mr. GAILLARD. During this time, like when I said I would come back to Hunter Pitts O’Dell—after I got to know Hunter Pitts O’Dell maybe for 3 or 4 weeks, then Hunter Pitts O’Dell he started talking and say; he said that the South is the revolutionary front.

So I asked him how he mean the South is the revolutionary front and he explained to me the reason why. He said the South is the revolutionary front. He say he would like to see that a powerful movement get started in the South. When Mr. Hunter find out that my home was in Charleston, South Carolina, he decided I was the youth that was for the job. He asked me would I be willing to go to South Carolina with the party backing to start a broad youth movement which would be controlled by the Communist Party and at this time I told Mr. O’Dell that I would be glad to go.

Mr. ARENS. What year was this, Albert?

Mr. GAILLARD. I think this was in about, I think it was the last part of 1958 or early part of ’59, I think.

Mr. ARENS. ’58 or ’59?

Mr. GAILLARD. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Go ahead, please.

Mr. GAILLARD. Anyway after a couple of months we was talking on this subject, so finally Mr. O’Dell decides to send me South. And at this time that he send me South he said a Jim Jackson which was chairman of the Southern Negro affairs in the Communist Party—I think he was over in the Soviet Union attending this conference or this convention they had over in the Soviet Union.

Mr. ARENS. That is James Jackson?

Mr. GAILLARD. James Jackson, yes, of course.

Mr. O’Dell told me that he would give James Jackson their report when he come back, that I would be one of the agents working alone in the South with them underground.

Mr. O’Dell also told me that I have nothing to worry about; he said, because when he get down South he will introduce me to some of the party’s people in the South, and then I asked him: I said, “You mean to say that the Communist Party, that they have Negro people working underground in the South?”

And Mr. O'Dell told me "Yes," but he told me "Don't ask too much information," because he don't want me to know too much right away.

He said, "First, you carry out one mission and then I will let you know about the party more deeper."

(At this point, Mr. Johansen left the hearing room.)

Mr. ARENS. Tell us about your mission then, please.

Mr. GAILLARD. As to my mission, Mr. O'Dell he give me about a couple hundred dollars' worth of books to sell. He told me when I go back to my home——

Mr. ARENS. These were Communist books?

Mr. GAILLARD. Yes.

One book he gave me was Paul Robeson—this book about Paul Robeson. He told me when I go back to my hometown that I must sell these books and when the people ask me why I come back home just say I come back home to be a book salesman.

He said every Negro youth that I sell a book to, to take their names and addresses and have it for him when he comes. He said because he will meet me in South Carolina within a couple of weeks.

So I left New York. Mr. O'Dell, he suggest to me that I leave New York late at night. So I left New York at 2 o'clock in the morning on the Greyhound bus, and I arrive in South Carolina that following night at 10 o'clock.

So finally the plan that I start that was going to work, it didn't work out the way I myself and Mr. O'Dell thought the plan would work.

Mr. ARENS. Did you have an experience there with a high school group?

Mr. GAILLARD. Yes, I am getting into that now. It was very surprising to me because I thought that the Negro people in the South—I thought that they wasn't very alerted to the Communist Party front but first when I went to one high school, Burke High School, and also went to another high school by the name of Avery High School to try to sell these books on Paul Robeson——

Mr. ARENS. That is in South Carolina?

Mr. GAILLARD. In Charleston, South Carolina.

Mr. ARENS. Are these two schools high schools, in which the Negro students are in attendance?

Mr. GAILLARD. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Tell us what happened there please?

Mr. GAILLARD. First, I went into Avery High School. I got kicked out of Avery High School. When I first went to the principal he wouldn't let me get into the high school with these books. So then I left Avery High School and went to Burke High School, which I know the principal of Burke High School by the name of Mr. Young. Mr. Young was glad to see me because I was back home. But when I take these books and ask could I go around to give classes and try to sell it—right away Mr. Young asked me to please leave the school. He says, "Isn't Paul Robeson a member of the Communist Party?"

Mr. ARENS. This man you were talking about was principal of the school?

Mr. GAILLARD. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. He himself is a Negro; is that correct?

Mr. GAILLARD. Yes, he himself is a Negro and he is principal of Burke High School.

So Mr. Young said to me, "Isn't this guy Paul Robeson—isn't he a member of the Communist Party?"

So I tried to evade the problem—you know, the question, so finally Mr. Young asked me to please leave the school. He said if I ever come back to the school premises with any Communist book or any Communist literature he would call the police department and have me arrested.

I am not quite sure whether he called the police department or not, but I know when I got about four or five blocks away from the school, the local police official picked me up and made me open this brief case that I had about 40 books in this brief case, and they said to me—they looked at this book on Paul Robeson and said, "Isn't this guy a Communist?"

I tried to act smart. They told me don't get smart with them. They told me to stay off the street and don't go to any kind of institution with these books whatsoever.

So I told them that I was just a book salesman trying to sell books. They said, "Do you have a license for it?"

I said no.

So finally, I lay off it for a couple of days. In another couple of days I went back to try to sell these books again. I went to these different Negro churches and everywhere I went with these books to my surprise the Negro people have turned me down, because they know what I was trying to sell and the way I was talking they told me that I talk like a Communist, and I was surprised.

Mr. ARENS. Let me interrupt you please to ask you this question.

The Communist Party in its attempts to penetrate the Negro youth uses the device that it is the champion of the Negro, that it is against discrimination and the like.

Mr. GAILLARD. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have any conclusion which you have reached in your own mind as to whether or not the Communist Party is a discriminatory operation?

Mr. GAILLARD. Yes, I have.

When I first joined the Communist Party everyone knows mostly, the Negro people who have joined the Communist Party and after they find out about the party they finally break away from the party. I went into the party with the idea that the Communist Party was the solution to the Negro people's problem, but as my experience in the Communist Party I find out that the Communist Party wasn't a party for the Negro people, that the Communist Party have one of the worst discriminations in their own party themselves.

If the Communist Party can use the Negro people as a tool and use them for their own advantage, the Communist Party don't give a darn about the Negro people themselves, and I also witnessed discrimination in the party. If something happened to the Negro people, the Communist Party they would be the first ones to jump up and say, "We must do this and we must do that." And then if the Communist Party find out they see whereupon the Government of this country changed things around and worked the things in the favor of the Negro people, it seems like the Communist Party they get sad

and they want to drop the issue altogether. In other words, the Communist Party want to see the things really keep on happening to the Negro people so they can use this as a weapon to try to rally the masses of the Negro people around the Communist Party.

Mr. ARENS. Will you go on please with the incidents in the South when you were attempting to organize the Negro youth in the South.

Mr. GAILLARD. Yes.

I told you that I was picked up several times. Finally, Hunter O'Dell he finally showed up—2 weeks passed by and he didn't show up. After this difficulty that I was in because when I left New York I only had about \$110 left in my pocket, after I had got my transportation.

After I arrived and after I was in South Carolina and my money was running out I phoned up Mr. Jesse Gray in New York because before Hunter O'Dell left—before I left New York I had my last meeting with Mr. Jesse Gray and Hunter O'Dell and Hunter O'Dell told me if I get into any difficulty for me to call Mr. Jesse Gray and have it charged on to Mr. Gray's phone and say if I need any financial funds or anything before he get down or I get in any difficulty to call Mr. Gray.

So finally, after I was picked up twice and my funds have run out, that I have taken to last me until Mr. O'Dell arrives, I called up Mr. Jesse Gray and I had charged collect on Mr. Gray's phone. At this time the way Mr. Gray was talking he seemed like he didn't want to be bothered with me after the plan that Hunter O'Dell with the backing of the Communist Party had proposed, that I had gone down South and after I called him and tell him that the plan failed Mr. Gray seemed like he didn't want to talk about it.

So I asked him, I said: "Have Mary left yet?"

When I said "Have Mary left yet?" he knew I was talking about Hunter O'Dell because they told me when I called to never call Hunter O'Dell's name on the phone.

So Jesse Gray told me that Hunter had already left. First he used the name "Mary" left.

He say, "Mary have already left and she is supposed to go to Montgomery, Alabama, first and that she would probably get down to South Carolina soon."

And he said, "You are to talk the problem over with her."

So finally, a week later, Hunter showed up and I told Hunter O'Dell what had happened and I told him. I said, "I doesn't want to stay down here again," because I say, "the plans won't work."

I said, "Even among our own Negro people that I know myself and have grown up with them this idea about starting a Communist youth front, they wasn't for it at all."

I told Hunter O'Dell I would like to return back to New York, but I doesn't have the money.

So Mr. Hunter O'Dell he asks me, "When is the next train or bus going back to New York?" I gave him the schedules as far as I know.

So I said, "Aren't you going to give me fare? Maybe I can leave a couple days after you left."

Hunter O'Dell told me—he lied to me because I know that he have it on him—he lied to me and told me, "I doesn't have the money on me." He said, "Within 10 days I will send it to you."

I told Hunter, I said, "If I stay down here another 10 days anything could happen to me." I didn't have no money for food or nothing.

All Hunter did was pull a dollar out of his pocket, and he give it to me and said: "Within 10 days you will have the money so you can come back."

Well, anyway, when he left I wanted to walk him to the bus station and he advised me not to because, he said he wanted to use caution and he doesn't want me to walk him to the bus station.

So anyway about another couples of weeks and I was in South Carolina and I was waiting for Hunter O'Dell to send the money that he never sent me one cent. I had to work my way back up to New York myself.

Mr. ARENS. Did you then conclude that you had had enough of communism and enough of the Communist Party?

Mr. GAILLARD. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Did you then make contact with the FBI and then with the Committee on Un-American Activities?

Mr. GAILLARD. Yes, I have.

I made contact with the FBI and I also take it voluntarily upon myself and write this committee a letter.

But one thing I would like to say first, if I could say it in this room. I am not saying this that I tried to hurt anyone in this courtroom, any ex-comrade—I mean any members of the Communist Party in this courtroom, but I know after I finish with this testimony to them the Communist Party, the leaders in the youth movement—I know that all of them is going to have a meeting on this and they will consider I sell out. But I want them to know that I did not sell out to the United States Government whatsoever, that I did this thing on my own free will.

I wrote a letter, I think it was, a six- or eight-page letter—I wrote to this committee and I said I would like to come down and give upon myself testimony about the Communist Party, and my special reason why I wrote this letter to this committee because I do not want no other Negro youth to make the mistake with the Communist Party that I have made.

Mr. ARENS. This is the letter you sent to the committee, is it not?

Mr. GAILLARD. This is the letter in my own handwriting, an eight-page letter in my own handwriting.

Mr. ARENS. May I ask if Hunter Pitts O'Dell when he met you down there told you about any of the other comrades who were supposedly working in the South, penetrating undercover as you were supposed to be doing.

Mr. GAILLARD. Yes, Hunter O'Dell he told me that they had a Negro woman in Columbia, South Carolina. He said she was up North for quite a number of years. That she was originally from Columbia, South Carolina, and that she was in the progressive movement while she was up North and she went back to Columbia, South Carolina. Now she is one of the leading Negro women which take part in the progressive movement throughout the South.

The CHAIRMAN. Any questions? Mr. Doyle?

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Gaillard, I would like to ask you a few questions.

Mr. GAILLARD. Yes, of course.

Mr. DOYLE. I haven't read your letter so I do not know what you said. I notice as you give the names of these members of the Harlem youth group and the names of the Communists or persons you identified as Communists you have no memoranda or note in front of you. You apparently are giving those from memory; is that correct?

Mr. GAILLARD. Right.

Mr. DOYLE. How old are you?

Mr. GAILLARD. I just reached my 20th birthday December 12th—20 years old.

Mr. DOYLE. How old were you when you first went into the Harlem youth group?

Mr. GAILLARD. I think I was about 17 years old then. I think I just reached my 18th birthday—no, I just reached my 17th birthday at the time. I was 17.

Mr. DOYLE. When I asked you about not having any memoranda or notes in front of you I didn't mean that as a criticism. I meant it as a compliment.

Mr. GAILLARD. Well, I tell you—

Mr. DOYLE. Also it means to me that you are a more creditable witness than some of these people I am looking at in the hearing room would give you credit for being.

I have never met you, of course. I am shocked that this Mr. Gray who is in the room here apparently—I am anxious to meet him and see who he is, which will probably be later in this hearing—I am shocked to find that in the capital city of the United States, according to your testimony, he is the agent of the Communist Party who came up and threatened you in a hotel. I am not surprised as a Communist that he would do it because that is typical of their methods which are well known.

But may I ask you about what he said again? I didn't quite get it clearly from you.

Mr. GAILLARD. Last night I went to the Dunbar Hotel to spend over-night because I came here yesterday and was to testify this morning. So about a quarter to nine I got up and went and had breakfast. After I had breakfast I went to the barber shop to get a haircut but the barber shop in the hotel was not open yet. I was on my way back to my room to get dressed and I saw Mr. Gray. He was standing there by this hotel door. He had his briefcase in his hand.

So he called me. I was talking to another Negro fellow who worked in the hotel.

So Mr. Gray called me and I was shocked to see Mr. Gray, and at this time I got frightened when I saw Mr. Gray because I know that I have to appear and I was going to be a witness this morning. So I thought maybe Mr. Gray—I thought maybe he knew I was going to be a witness this morning. So that is the reason I got frightened.

So anyway he asked me. He said, "So you are the surprise witness. You are going to witness tomorrow, you who was recently a breakaway from one of the youth operations, one of the youth Communist operations in this country."

So I said "I am not saying yes and I am not saying no."

I said, "I will appear in court at 10 o'clock this morning." And I said, "At this hearing you will find out what I have to say."

He say, "You know that ever since you was in the party that I have known you very well."

He said, "You don't have to hide anything from me."

He said, "I want you to take the fifth amendment."

He say, "Would you take the fifth amendment?"

So I was trying to—I play around with him a little. I say, "If I took the fifth amendment what will happen to me?"

He said, "Nothing would happen to you."

He stand up and talk to me for 7 or 8 minutes and kept on telling me, "Take the fifth amendment."

I said, "I am not quite sure. You will find out in court."

So anyway he told me. He said, If I doesn't take the fifth amendment, he said, that he will see for sure in the—First of all, he asked me my address. He know that I lived in Harlem somewhere around 124th Street. He know what block I live in but the exact address he doesn't know. He asked me my exact address.

I told him that I am not giving out to anyone my address because, I said, "I am out of the Communist Party and I don't want to have anything to do with anyone who is very close to the Communist Party anymore and for this reason I refuse to give out my address."

Gray told me again. He said, "Are you going to take the fifth?"

I said, "You will find out in court."

He told me if I doesn't take the fifth amendment he said I would be selling out the party and I would be selling out the Negro people.

And I corrected Mr. Gray. I say to Mr. Gray, "If I go before this committee this morning and if I testify against the party," I said, "I am not selling out the Negro people." I said, "because the masses of the Negro people don't give a darn about the Communist Party."

I said that because this testimony that I am making this morning doesn't involve the Negro people at all.

So Mr. Gray he got on the phone. He tried to place a long-distance call to New York City to the Amsterdam News because he said he wanted this to be in the Amsterdam News when the Amsterdam News comes out tomorrow morning, and when he tried to make his call the line was busy and I left him standing at the telephone booth. He was trying to place the call again. And I went to my room.

So when I came back out again Mr. Gray was still standing by this phone and me and Mr. Gray were walking to this cafeteria in this restaurant and he sat down. He had a cup of coffee and some toast and in the restaurant he seemed like he was trying to make me look very, very small. He started talking loud, "Why don't you take the fifth," he said, "because you are too young to go before that committee and testify against the party."

So I got mad and I walked out. And I say, "I will see you in court."

And he hadn't said anything else, but the last thing he say to me when I walked out, "If you don't take the fifth you will be in pretty bad shape in the Harlem community, I will have leaflets out."

Even if Mr. Gray don't put these leaflets out like he said, I know Mr. Gray to be a man of his word—if he say he will do something I know he will do it. For this definite reason I would not return to my address where I live at for another couple weeks anyway, because even if this committee could stop him from putting out this leaflet,

I am still afraid that the word could be passed around that maybe someone would try to physically harm me.

Mr. WILLIS. What do you think he will say in the leaflet? What do you mean by that?

Mr. GAILLARD. He told me. He said in this leaflet that I will be a sellout to the Negro people and also he say that I will team up with the landlords because he said the big upper class is the one responsible for having these investigations and this committee is one of the worst committees in this country. That is what he said.

Mr. DOYLE. I am not surprised that he virtually ordered you to claim the fifth-amendment privilege because our experience over the years is that is the habit of the Communist Party and their attorneys, if the attorneys are Communist, too, to instruct the witnesses to claim the fifth amendment.

I think I heard you mention before something Mr. Gray said about the Federal Government.

Did I hear you when you spoke a few minutes ago say that Mr. Gray had asked you something about the Federal Government?

Mr. GAILLARD. What I said, Mr. Gray he asked me, was I going to be a witness for the Federal Government.

Mr. DOYLE. Support what?

Mr. WILLIS. For the Federal Government.

Mr. GAILLARD. He asked me was I going to be a witness for the Federal Government.

Mr. DOYLE. For the Federal Government.

Mr. GAILLARD. Right.

Mr. DOYLE. Well, of course, there is only one Federal Government in the United States and that is the Federal Government. I am not surprised either that he, as a Communist organizer, would try to get you to keep from testifying in support of your own Government. That is their habit. That is what they do. They would rather have you testify in favor of Soviet communism, not constitutional democracy.

(At this point, Mr. Johansen entered the hearing room.)

Mr. DOYLE. Now, I have a couple other questions. I will hurry over this.

Did I understand you to say that Mr. Gray or Mr. O'Dell were encouraging you to organize a youth movement among the Puerto Rican people of New York, the Puerto Rican youth?

Mr. GAILLARD. Well, this is how the way it went after we got the Harlem Youth Congress started and also after we got the Youth Committee for Ben Davis started, and at this time we didn't have a single Puerto Rican in there, and Mr. Gray suggest since we have Puerto Ricans living in the Harlem community, too, he said it would be very good if we can try to organize the Puerto Ricans also, too.

So finally we was finding what Puerto Rican persons we could get in contact with. So finally we got in contact with a Puerto Rican girl by the name of Hattie. I cannot recall her last name.

Well, anyway, this girl when we first got in contact with her, this Puerto Rican girl, she didn't know that we all were members of the Communist Party.

But one Sunday we had a meeting and we tried to convince her on the line of communism two and a half hours, but she said that the

Puerto Ricans would think it would be a double dirt to be a Puerto Rican and also to be a member of the Communist Party.

They seemed like they keep on trying and trying to convince her.

And the last time, of my knowledge, the last time that I saw her was when we had a meeting with the Puerto Rican youth up on 110th Street and Lenox Avenue. And at this meeting that is when we had at least 17 or 18 Puerto Ricans, and I have not seen her since because that was the same night that I went South.

Mr. DOYLE. About what ages were those Puerto Ricans?

Mr. GAILLARD. Most of the them were from the age of about 16 till about 24 or 25.

Mr. DOYLE. Did I understand you to say that Mr. Gray told you that it didn't matter if you hurt one or two individuals?

Mr. GAILLARD. That wasn't Mr. Gray. That was Ben Davis, chairman of the New York State Communist Party.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Davis?

Mr. GAILLARD. Yes, Mr. Davis, Ben Davis, chairman of the New York State Communist Party.

Mr. DOYLE. Did I understand you to say it didn't matter to him whether or not one or two individuals were hurt as long as the—

Mr. GAILLARD.—The Communist Party achieved their victory. That is what he said.

Mr. DOYLE. Achieved their purpose. That is their habit. They are willing to sacrifice the dignity and personality and freedom of one or two as long as they promote their insidious propaganda. That is their habit. That is well known to us. They will even ruin one of their own members if need be in order to gain success for their party. That is their habit.

So I am not surprised that is what he told you.

I am not acquainted with Ben Davis. What candidacy was he running for?

Mr. GAILLARD. I think during the summer of 1958 Ben Davis was running against State Senator James L. Watson in the 21st Senatorial District and he was running for State Senator.

Mr. DOYLE. And he was a candidate? He was known to you as a Communist at the time but his Communist membership was not divulged?

Mr. GAILLARD. That is right.

Mr. DOYLE. It was not revealed. He was running secretly as far as his Communist Party membership was concerned; is that true?

Mr. GAILLARD. He was running on an open ticket, but they called it the People's Rights Party. It was open.

Mr. DOYLE. But as far as the support of you young Communists was concerned, your support of him as young Communists was secret?

Mr. GAILLARD. Right.

Mr. DOYLE. Well, for lack of time I will discontinue asking you any further questions.

I want to compliment you for having the guts and the patriotism, because that is what it takes—it really takes guts and patriotism—the kind Americans respect, patriotic Americans—to do what you have done.

I am saying that for the benefit largely of you young people who are in the hearing room. It is not surprising to me that this American citizen being a Negro testifies as he does and can testify honestly

as he does. It ought to be a warning to some of you folks possibly in the room who think that the Communist Party stands for freedom of the individual.

Here is a case where it stood for anything but freedom. It stands absolutely for totalitarianism of the most insidious sort.

Thank you very much.

Mr. WILLIS. Just one question, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, Mr. Willis.

Mr. WILLIS. Up to what grade did you go to school?

Mr. GAILLARD. I went up to the fifth term of high school in Morris High School.

Mr. WILLIS. Are you employed now?

Mr. GAILLARD. Yes, I am employed now.

Mr. WILLIS. Thank you very much.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Gaillard, I am not in the least bit surprised by what you say with respect to the loyalty and patriotism of the colored people in the United States. I think it is a matter of great credit that in spite of all sorts of hardships, they realize that being subservient to a foreign power is not in their best interests.

I do want to congratulate you. What you did is not easy. Those of us who are charged with distasteful tasks as we are now engaged in are not often encouraged. But every once in a while there is something that happens, though; for example, when the appropriations for this committee were approved without one single dissenting vote.

We were encouraged yesterday when the House by unanimous consent approved a security bill, with not one vote against it. And then today you come in here and have the courage to tell about this movement designed to make serfs out of all of us.

After all we are encouraged, and I want to thank you and I am sure I am voicing the feeling of every Member of Congress of the United States without exception that we are indebted to you.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, may I add a word there about the appropriation?

I do it because I could not help but notice a half dozen or so of you young people broadly smiling, and even laughing out loud, at the chairman's remark.

So I thought I would inform you that under our congressional procedures before that appropriation could come to the floor of the House, it had to go before a congressional committee and that committee always holds hearings. It is a subcommittee on appropriations on governmental operations.

And before that committee every Member of Congress had the right and the opportunity to appear and testify in opposition to our committee's appropriation if the Member wanted to.

The fact is that not a single Member of the Congress, all of us knowing that that committee was to consider this particular appropriation, appeared or asked to appear, before that committee.

So it was not a matter of this appropriation just coming extemporaneously to the House. It had been pending before a committee publicly and every Member of Congress had a right and a privilege and an opportunity to appear before that committee and testify against the appropriation if he wanted to.

The CHAIRMAN. More than that, everybody was aware of the fact that it was called up.

Mr. DOYLE. Certainly.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not think I remember—when did you leave the Communist Party?

Mr. GAILLARD. I left the Communist Party in August 1959. I wrote the Communist Party a letter with my resignation from them.

The CHAIRMAN. Just a few months ago.

I want to inform you that you are continued under this subpoena so that your status now, until we call you again, is that of a Government witness.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Mr. Chairman, if I may make just one more remark, I regret that I had to be out of the room during part of your excellent testimony because I had to appear as a witness before another committee of the Congress.

On the basis of what I have heard and on the basis of the comments of my colleagues on this committee, I want to join them in commending you. You are a credit to your race and you are a credit to your country.

I thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will stand in recess for five minutes. (Brief recess.)

The CHAIRMAN. Unless we have order I am going to be forced to clear the room.

Please call your next witness, Mr. Arens.

Mr. ARENS. Jesse Gray, please come forward and remain standing while the chairman administers an oath.

The CHAIRMAN. Raise your right hand, Mr. Gray.

Do you swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. GRAY. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Sit down please.

TESTIMONY OF JESSE GRAY, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, LAWRENCE SPEISER

Mr. ARENS. Please identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. GRAY. My name is Jesse Gray. I live at 1809 7th Avenue, New York. I am executive director of the Lower Harlem Tenants Council.

The CHAIRMAN. Lower Harlem Tenants—

Mr. GRAY. Tenants Council.

Mr. ARENS. Your residence please?

Mr. GRAY. 1809 7th Avenue.

Mr. ARENS. You are appearing today in response to a subpoena that was served upon you by this committee?

Mr. GRAY. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. You are represented by counsel?

Mr. GRAY. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Counsel, please identify yourself.

Mr. SPEISER. Lawrence Speiser, director of the Washington office of the American Civil Liberties Union, a member of the California and United States Supreme Court bar. My address is 1712 I Street, N.W., Washington 6, D.C.

Mr. ARENS. How long have you been employed at your present place of employment?

Mr. GRAY. Several years.

Mr. ARENS. Would you say you have been employed as many as 5 years?

Mr. GRAY. Four years.

Mr. ARENS. Did you hear the testimony a few moments ago of Albert Gaillard?

Mr. GRAY. Yes, I did.

Mr. ARENS. Was Mr. Gaillard giving a truthful account of the experience he had with you this morning at the hotel, the conversation he had with you?

Mr. GRAY. I had no conversation with Mr. Gaillard.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have breakfast this morning in the Dunbar Hotel?

Mr. GRAY. Yes, I had tea this morning.

The CHAIRMAN. Was Albert Gaillard there in the restaurant when you were?

Mr. GRAY. I saw him in the corridor.

The CHAIRMAN. Didn't you see him in the restaurant?

Mr. GRAY. I saw him passing through the restaurant.

The CHAIRMAN. Then you did see him in the restaurant this morning?

Did he stop and talk with you?

Mr. GRAY. I had no conversations.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he stop and talk with you?

Mr. GRAY. I had no conversation.

The CHAIRMAN. I am not asking about your conversation with him. I am asking if he made any statement to you.

Mr. GRAY. On this question, I take the fifth.

Mr. ARENS. Do you honestly apprehend if you told this committee whether or not he talked to you, you would be supplying information that might be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. GRAY. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. GRAY. No, I am not now a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. GRAY. I take the fifth on that question.

Mr. ARENS. Were you a member of the Communist Party anytime in the course of the last year?

Mr. GRAY. I take the fifth on that question.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you a member of the Communist Party up to 10 o'clock this morning?

Mr. GRAY. I take the fifth on that question.

Mr. ARENS. Did you hear the testimony of Albert Gaillard with respect to your activities up to just a few months ago in the Harlem youth section of the Communist Party?

Mr. GRAY. I don't hear too well.

The CHAIRMAN. Just tell him what he said so he can hear you.

Mr. ARENS. In essence he testified that you were one of the hard core of the young Communists in Harlem under the direction of Ben Davis, who were members of the Communist Party with whom he had served

in closed Communist Party sessions. Now, was he in error in that testimony respecting you?

Mr. GRAY. I take the fifth on that question.

Mr. ARENS. Do you honestly apprehend that if you told us whether or not Gaillard was in error you would be supplying information which could be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

Mr. GRAY. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that will conclude the staff interrogation of this witness.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he going to invoke the fifth amendment, Mr. Speiser?

Mr. SPEISER. Mr. Chairman, the only thing I can say is that it depends on the questions that are asked.

The CHAIRMAN. I am tempted to ask a question but I shan't.

Are there any further questions?

Mr. Doyle?

Mr. DOYLE. I have one or two. Is this Lower Harlem Tennis Council—

The CHAIRMAN. Tenants.

Mr. GRAY. Tenants, T-e-n-a-n-t-s.

Mr. DOYLE. Oh, I see. I misunderstood. I thought it was a tennis club of some sort.

Mr. GRAY. No, tenants.

Mr. DOYLE. Tenants?

Mr. GRAY. Tenants.

Mr. DOYLE. In other words, a group of tenants in Harlem, and you are the executive director on salary of that group?

Mr. GRAY. Yes.

Mr. DOYLE. You have been for 4 years, approximately 4 years.

Mr. GRAY. Approximately.

Mr. DOYLE. You heard the testimony of Albert Gaillard here about attending club meetings and group meetings in Harlem. I am sure I heard him testify that on occasions you were present with him at group meetings in Harlem.

Did you ever attend any group meetings to your knowledge when he was personally present?

Mr. GRAY. I take the fifth on that.

Mr. DOYLE. Did he ever attend the tenants council meeting when you were there?

Mr. GRAY. The fifth on that also.

Mr. DOYLE. Do you think that it might incriminate you if you testified that he was present at the tenants meeting of which you were the executive director?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. GRAY. Yes.

Mr. DOYLE. You do?

Now, you heard him testify that both you and he were present at meetings with Mr. Ben Davis, who was a Communist Party candidate for some office in New York; is that true?

Mr. GRAY. Fifth on this same question.

Mr. DOYLE. The fifth on the same question.

You heard him testify a few minutes ago, that in the hotel lobby down there during a conversation between you and him, you stepped to the phone booth after telling him you were going to call a news-

paper, the Amsterdam News in Harlem, so that it would publish tomorrow morning the fact that he had testified in support of the Federal Government. Is that true?

Mr. GRAY. My position remains the same. The fifth on this one, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. The fifth?

Mr. GRAY. Yes, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. Did you telephone from your hotel this morning, or try to telephone, the Amsterdam News in Harlem?

Mr. GRAY. Fifth on this same question.

Mr. DOYLE. Of course, the telephone record would show that, I assume.

Did you tell him this morning to claim the fifth amendment when he testified here?

Mr. GRAY. The fifth on that question also.

Mr. DOYLE. Did you tell him in substance that there would be a meeting back in Harlem if he did not claim the fifth and that he would not be welcome back in Harlem if he did not claim the fifth before this committee?

Mr. GRAY. I take the fifth on that also.

Mr. DOYLE. Did you tell him in substance that it would be claimed that he was a sellout to the Government?

Mr. GRAY. I am sure the community will decide that, and I take the fifth on that also.

Mr. DOYLE. Let me ask this, Mr. Chairman.

You were, were you not, the executive officer or a representative of the Communist Party in your area at one time?

Mr. GRAY. I take the fifth on that also.

Mr. DOYLE. Are you now that representative?

Mr. GRAY. I take the fifth on that also.

Mr. DOYLE. Assuming that you were the representative as he testified, were you paid a salary for that job?

Mr. GRAY. Fifth on that also.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Johansen?

Mr. JOHANSEN. I understood the witness to say earlier that his hearing was not too good on some of the testimony.

The CHAIRMAN. He hears. He has heard the questions and he has answered them.

Mr. JOHANSEN. I just wondered, Mr. Chairman, if his hearing was acute enough that he heard the warning of the chairman that witnesses before this committee are protected by the Government of the United States.

Mr. GRAY. I ask equal protection under the law, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The witness is excused.

Call another witness, Mr. Arens.

Mr. ARENS. The next witness, if you please, will be Hunter Pitts O'Dell.

Please come forward and remain standing while the chairman administers the oath.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you raise your right hand, Mr. O'Dell?

Do you swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. O'DELL. I do.

TESTIMONY OF HUNTER PITTS O'DELL, ACCOMPANIED BY
COUNSEL, LAWRENCE SPEISER

Mr. ARENS. Please identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. O'DELL. My name is Hunter O'Dell. Address 142 112th Street, New York City. I am a life underwriter by profession.

Mr. ARENS. You are appearing today in response to a subpoena served upon you by this committee?

Mr. O'DELL. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. You are represented by counsel?

Mr. O'DELL. Yes, I am.

Mr. ARENS. Counsel, please identify yourself on this record.

Mr. SPEISER. Lawrence Speiser. I previously gave other pertinent information.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know the man who just left the witness stand?

Mr. O'DELL. The gentleman that you just called?

Mr. ARENS. Yes.

Mr. O'DELL. He is a friend of mine, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know him as a Communist?

Mr. O'DELL. No, I do not know him as a Communist, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know Albert Gaillard, the man who testified first this morning?

Mr. O'DELL. I am not certain. I decline to answer that because that infringes upon my rights of association, and I take the first and fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Do you honestly apprehend if you told this committee whether or not you know Albert Gaillard, the man who testified first this morning, you would be supplying information that might be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

Mr. O'DELL. I feel as though that his testimony, what I heard of it, is somewhat fantastic, and I don't care to be involved in an answer to it.

The CHAIRMAN. Answer the question.

Mr. O'DELL. Therefore I decline to answer it under the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. Was he telling the truth when he said he knew you as a member of the Communist Party and as one who directed him in his underground activities in the Communist Party in the South?

Mr. O'DELL. I decline to answer that question on the first and fifth amendments, sir.

Mr. ARENS. I lay before you a thermofax reproduction of an article appearing in Political Affairs, of August 1956, entitled "The Political Scene in Louisiana, by Hunter O'Dell"—Political Affairs being the theoretical organ of the Communist Party.

Kindly look at that article and tell this committee while you are under oath whether or not you are the author of that article respecting activities in Louisiana.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. O'DELL. I feel that the question infringes upon my right of freedom of speech and expression, as well as my rights under the fifth amendment, so I decline to answer it under the first and fifth amendments of the Constitution.

(Document marked "O'Dell Exhibit No. 1," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. O'DELL. What do you mean by "the Communist Party"?

Mr. ARENS. I respectfully suggest, Mr. Chairman, that the witness be ordered and directed to answer that question.

The CHAIRMAN. You are directed to answer the question.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. O'DELL. I decline to answer that on the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. I beg pardon?

Mr. O'DELL. I decline to answer that on the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. I respectfully suggest that will conclude the staff interrogation of this witness.

The CHAIRMAN. The witness is excused.

Mr. ARENS. The next witness will be Benjamin Davis, Jr.

Please come forward while the chairman administers an oath.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you raise your right hand, please?

Do you swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. DAVIS. I do.

TESTIMONY OF BENJAMIN DAVIS, JR., ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, JOSEPH FORER

Mr. ARENS. Please identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. DAVIS. I am Benjamin Davis, Jr. I live at 710 Riverside Drive, in New York City.

Mr. ARENS. And your occupation, please?

Mr. DAVIS. I am not going to answer that. I will take the first and fifth, and I would like to explain why.

I consider this committee very un-American, illegal, and it has got no right to ask me personal affairs or political opinions.

You claim that you are interested in youth. Well, Mack Parker was a 23-year-old youth and you have done nothing to subpoena the lynchers of Mack Parker, nothing about the vicious system under which Negro and Puerto Rican and Jewish youth live in this country. You are not interested in these kids at all.

You are interested in acting like a judge and a jury and convicting people and carrying on your two-bit legal business here to try to convict people without a hearing.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Davis, why did you add Jewish youth to Puerto Ricans and colored?

Mr. DAVIS. For the very simple reason that if you were informed, if you read the newspapers, you would know that there had been a number of anti-Semitic outrages in this country as there have been all over the world in a recent period.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. We have much information on that. We find much of it is brought about by the Communists in their desire to deliver Berlin over to Russia. That is the evidence that we have in abundant quantity.

Mr. DAVIS. That is the usual stuff that I expect from you.

Mr. ARENS. Would you kindly tell us of your activities for the help and assistance of youth.

Mr. DAVIS. I refuse to discuss that. I take the first and the fifth.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know a man by the name of John Gates?

Mr. DAVIS. I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. FORER. On the same grounds.

Mr. DAVIS. On the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. John Gates wrote a book entitled "The Story Of An American Communist," an excerpt from which I have here, in which he says that he became enthusiastic as a Communist about disarmament, and he made a speech in which he called for the Soviet Union to take the initiative in disarming; and then, he said, that you, Ben Davis, Jr., took him to task for suggesting that the Soviet Union take the initiative in ceasing bomb tests, and that you had stated at a meeting in 1949, that you would rather be a lamppost in Moscow than president of the United States. Was he in error in his account of the incident with you?

Mr. FORER. Excuse me, Mr. Chairman.

Is that relevant to the present inquiry as to youth? Mr. Davis is obviously not a youth.

Mr. DAVIS. I am.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Counsel has not identified himself in connection with this witness.

The CHAIRMAN. He is so well known that it was probably written down automatically.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Forer, would you like to put your name on the record? I apologize. I didn't realize I had not put your name on the record.

Mr. FORER. I represent Mr. Davis. I am Joe Forer, 711 14th Street, Washington, D.C.

Mr. ARENS. Now, would you kindly answer the principal outstanding question?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. DAVIS. Well, the question is irrelevant, ridiculous, garbage, and I refuse to answer it on the basis of the first and fifth amendments.

(Document marked "Davis Exhibit No. 1," and retained in committee files.)

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Forer has asked about the relevancy of the testimony that you are attempting to adduce from Mr. Davis.

I think it becomes apparent that it is competent and relevant and material by virtue of the testimony of preceding witnesses who testified as to conversations with Mr. Davis.

Mr. FORER. I meant this particular question.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. All right.

Mr. ARENS. I lay before you a copy of the Resolution On The Youth Question previously identified in this record as adopted at the 17th Convention of the Communist Party in New York City, held just a few months ago.

Would you kindly look at that resolution and tell this committee whether or not you were instrumental in causing the passage of that resolution with respect to Communist activities among youth?

Mr. DAVIS. I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. ARENS. —as promulgated. Would you kindly look at it?

Mr. DAVIS. I refuse to answer the question on the first and fifth amendments, and ask you again why don't you subpoena the lynchers of Mack Parker? You can get that dope from the FBI. Why don't you do that?

(Document marked "Davis Exhibit No. 2," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Would you kindly tell us whether or not Mr. Gaillard was in error when he stated this morning while he was under oath that you were directing him in penetration of the Negro youth in Harlem, and in the formation of a Harlem youth club of the Communist Party?

Mr. DAVIS. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. Did you make a statement to Gaillard that you did not care about the individual, as long as the Communist Party could achieve its victory, irrespective of whether some individual or individuals get hurt?

Mr. DAVIS. No.

Mr. ARENS. Did you have a conversation with him on the subject matter?

Mr. DAVIS. I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. FORER. On the same grounds.

Mr. DAVIS. On the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. Are you now national secretary of the Communist Party?

Mr. DAVIS. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. Did you take direction of some of the youths who last summer attended the Vienna Youth Festival from the United States?

Mr. DAVIS. Did I take direction? What do you mean? Make the question again.

Mr. ARENS. Did you issue orders to some of the youth who attended the Vienna Youth Festival this last summer?

Mr. DAVIS. I refuse to answer the question on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. Did the National Committee of the Communist Party send an adult adviser to accompany certain youth who attended the Youth Festival in Vienna this past summer?

Mr. DAVIS. I refuse to answer the question on the same grounds, and suggest that you stop asking these police questions, because you will get no answer from me.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Davis, since this committee has served subpoenas on a number of persons to appear in this hearing, every one of whom has been identified under oath by creditable witnesses as members of the Communist Party, has there been formed, to your certain knowledge, by the Communist operation in New York City, a group known as Youth Against the House Un-American Activities Committee?

Mr. DAVIS. I refuse to answer the question on the grounds of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. ARENS. On last Friday, two busloads of youth traveled to Washington, under the auspices of the Youth Against the House Un-American Activities Committee.

To your certain knowledge, was this junket to Washington stimulated, directed, and controlled by the Communist operation in New York City?

Mr. DAVIS. I refuse to answer the question on the same grounds.

Mr. ARENS. I respectfully suggest, Mr. Chairman, that will conclude the staff interrogation of this witness.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any questions?

The witness is excused.

The CHAIRMAN. Call your next witness.

Mr. ARENS. The next witness is Leroy Wolins.

Please come forward and remain standing while the chairman administers an oath.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you raise your right hand?

Do you swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. WOLINS. What was the last part, sir?

The CHAIRMAN. So help you God.

Mr. WOLINS. I cannot swear to that, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. WOLINS. I swear to tell the truth.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

TESTIMONY OF LEROY WOLINS, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, LAWRENCE SPEISER

Mr. ARENS. Please identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. WOLINS. My name is Leroy Wolins. I live at 2036 North Sawyer Avenue in Chicago and as to the last question I believe it is irrelevant to any legislative purpose of this committee, and furthermore it is a violation of my rights under the first and fifth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. ARENS. You are appearing today in response to a subpoena that was served upon you by this committee?

Mr. WOLINS. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. And you are represented by counsel?

Mr. WOLINS. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. Counsel, please identify yourself on this record.

Mr. SPEISER. I previously identified myself.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Wolins, how long have you occupied your present position?

Mr. WOLINS. I believe that question is irrelevant to any legislative purpose of this committee or object of this committee. It is a violation of my rights under the first and fifth amendments to the United States Constitution, and therefore I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. ARENS. Are you connected as secretary in a fulltime capacity with the Chicago Council of American-Soviet Friendship?

Mr. WOLINS. The question, as far as I can understand it, is again to no legislative purpose of this committee, and a violation of my rights under the first and fifth amendments to the United States Constitution and therefore I will not answer it.

Mr. ARENS. Did you in collaboration with others create and direct a unit of Communists who were sent to the World Youth Festival at Vienna this last summer?

Mr. WOLINS. The question is not pertinent to any legislative purpose of this committee, and is an invasion of my rights under the first and fifth amendments. For those reasons I will not answer it.

Mr. ARENS. Did you in the course of the last few years attend festivals of the Communists held abroad.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. WOLINS. Would you repeat the question, Mr. Arens?

Mr. ARENS. Have you in the course of the last few years attended any youth festivals abroad?

Mr. WOLINS. I would again say that on the grounds that this question is not pertinent to any legislative purpose of this committee, and in violation of my rights under the first and fifth amendments of the United States Constitution, that I cannot answer that question.

Mr. ARENS. Have you, in the course of the last several months, solicited or received funds from the Soviet Embassy in Washington?

Mr. WOLINS. The question, once more, is to the best of my ability to determine, not pertinent to any legislative investigation or purpose of this committee, and furthermore is in violation of my rights under the first and fifth amendments to the United States Constitution, and therefore I feel that it is neither desirable nor possible to answer the question.

Mr. ARENS. I put it to you as a fact, sir, and ask you to affirm or deny the fact that in the course of the last few years you have received upwards of \$500 from the Soviet Embassy in Washington, for the purpose of promoting the youth festival delegation which was sent to Vienna just a few months ago. If that is not a fact, please deny it while you are under oath.

Mr. WOLINS. The question is not pertinent to any legislative purpose of this committee, and further is a violation of my rights under the first and fifth amendments of the United States Constitution, and therefore I shall not answer the question.

Mr. ARENS. I lay before you copies of a series of passport applications signed by yourself, and filed with the Department of State, in which you solicited a United States passport in each of these several instances over the course of the last few years for the purpose of traveling abroad.

Kindly look at those passport applications and tell this committee whether or not they are true and correct reproductions of original applications filed by yourself with the Department of State.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. ARENS. Would you kindly answer the question?

Mr. WOLINS. That was a long time ago. Would you repeat the exact question, Mr. Arens?

Mr. ARENS. Are the documents which I lay before you, sir, true and correct copies of the original applications filed by you with the Department of State for the last several years, for United States passports?

Mr. WOLINS. Pending a full, legal explanation of that 15 or 20 documents, and in the light of the general situation before this committee, I would state that these questions in general and this question in particular have no pertinency whatever to any legislative purpose or design or intent of this committee, and are, furthermore, a violation of my rights under the first and fifth amendments of the United States Constitution, and, therefore, upholding the United States Constitution and my rights thereunder, I would refuse and must refuse to answer that question.

(Documents marked "Wolins Exhibit No. 1," and retained in committee file.)

Mr. ARENS. Did you receive United States passports off and on over the course of the last few years?

Mr. WOLINS. Well, I would say that again, in due consideration that answering this particular question would serve no legislative purpose or intent of the committee, and it is a violation of my rights under the first and fifth amendments of the United States Constitution, and that since I feel very strongly about these rights, I should continue to maintain them and refuse to answer that question.

Mr. ARENS. I lay before you a copy of an article from the press, of Wednesday, July 31, 1957, with a Moscow date line, headlined American Visits Soviet Without U.S. Passport. In essence the article tells about your visit to Moscow to participate there in certain youth activities.

Kindly look at that article and tell us whether or not the facts recited there are in substance truthful and correct.

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. WOLINS. Once more on the grounds that the question is not pertinent to any legislative purpose of this committee, and is a violation of the rights guaranteed to me under the United States Constitution, I refuse to answer that question.

(Document marked "Wolins Exhibit No. 2," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. Did you take with you when you went to Moscow what is commonly known as bugging equipment or recording equipment of the pocket variety, so you could take tape recordings of certain conversations?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. WOLINS. It is a very interesting question, but I feel that once again it would serve no legislative purpose of this committee, although I would ask one thing—might I have some specific information as to what legislative purpose of this committee would be served to answer that particular question?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. This committee for some time has been studying the question of the participation of American youth in international meetings, and we have felt that perhaps the Government ought to subsidize these delegations, rather than to have them get the money from our enemies. And with that in mind we are, among other things, making these inquiries.

Mr. WOLINS. Subsidize them, Mr. Chairman, in order to take bugging equipment?

The CHAIRMAN. To all of these questions that you have been asked, your answers have been the same. You raised the question of legislative intent. Moreover, yesterday I made a complete statement as to the purpose of this hearing.

Go ahead, Mr. Arens.

Mr. ARENS. It is the information of this committee from unimpeachable intelligence sources, sir, that while you were in Moscow in 1957, unbeknown even to the comrades, you bugged certain of their meetings and brought back tape recordings of certain sessions which you had.

If that is not true, deny it while you are under oath.

Mr. WOLINS. I am still having no explanation of what purpose bugging would have. I think that would indicate there is no legisla-

tive purpose to the question, and on the ground, plus the ground that the whole question again would be violative of my rights under the first and fifth amendments of the United States Constitution, I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know a man by the name of Vladimir S. Lavrov, L-a-v-r-o-v, connected with the Soviet Embassy?

Mr. WOLINS. On the ground that the question would prove of no legislative significance and have no legislative purpose, and furthermore on the grounds that it would be violative of my rights under the first and fifth amendments of the United States Constitution, I must refuse to answer that question.

Mr. ARENS. From unimpeachable intelligence sources, it is the information of this committee—and I confront you with it now—that in 1958 you obtained and furnished to Vladimir S. Lavrov of the Russian Embassy in Washington, certain documents. If that is not a fact, please deny it while you are under oath.

Mr. WOLINS. On the ground that the question is to no legislative purpose, and furthermore is violative of my rights under the first and fifth amendments of the United States Constitution, I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. ARENS. Can you tell us what you did, what your activities were in connection with the formation of the Chicago group for this last United States Youth Festival held in Vienna?

The CHAIRMAN. It is not the United States Youth Festival. It is the World Youth Festival.

Mr. ARENS. United States youth festival committee delegation, that was sent to Vienna.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Would you kindly tell us what your participation was in that enterprise?

(The witness conferred with his counsel)

Mr. WOLINS. On the ground that the question would serve no legislative purpose, and serve no legislative intent and is in violation of my rights under the first and fifth amendments of the United States Constitution, I must refuse to answer that question.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you a member of the United States delegation at this youth festival?

Mr. WOLINS. Once again, on the ground that that would serve no legislative purpose of this committee, and once again on the grounds it is in violation of the rights of an American citizen under the first and fifth amendments of the United States Constitution, I must refuse to answer that question.

The CHAIRMAN. We are very greatly interested, because we would like to know how you would be selected as a spokesman and a representative of the youth of America. The reason is obvious.

Mr. ARENS. Have you, in the course of the last few years, been in Red China?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. WOLINS. Mr. Arens, in the first place, I have it on official word of the State Department that a Red China does not exist.

In the second place, I feel that the question itself would serve no legislative purpose of this committee and, of course, as all the other questions, is violative of rights guaranteed to American citizens, in-

cluding myself, under the first and fifth amendments of the United States Constitution, and, therefore, I would refuse to answer that question.

Mr. ARENS. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. WOLINS. Once again, on the grounds that the question would serve no legislative purpose or intent of this committee, and on the grounds that it would be a violation of my rights under the first and fifth amendments of the United States Constitution, I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, I request that the witness be instructed to answer that question.

The CHAIRMAN. You are directed to answer that question.

Mr. WOLINS. Since the question would serve no legislative purpose, as I have already stated, and since it violates the rights of freedom of speech and association guaranteed to American citizens by the first amendment of the United States Constitution, and since it violates the rights of due process and the right to refuse to incriminate oneself under the fifth amendment of the United States Constitution, in upholding the United States Constitution and my rights thereunder, I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, Mr. Johansen.

Mr. JOHANSEN. I have served on this committee now for thirteen months. There has not been any member of this committee more respectful of the rights of witnesses or of their claimed rights under the Constitution, but I must say to this witness that when this witness poses before this committee as one upholding the Constitution of the United States, that makes me gag.

The CHAIRMAN. You have not been on the committee long enough, Mr. Johansen.

Mr. JOHANSEN. I will get tougher, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. You just learn to overlook these things.

Is there any further question?

Mr. ARENS. We have no further questions of this witness.

The CHAIRMAN. The witness is excused.

Mr. ARENS. The next witness, if you please, Mr. Chairman, will be Jacob Rosen.

Please come forward, and remain standing while the chairman administers an oath.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you raise your right hand, please? Do you swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth——

Mr. ROSEN. I so affirm.

TESTIMONY OF JACOB ROSEN, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, JOSEPH FORER

Mr. ARENS. Please identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. ROSEN. My name is Jacob Rosen. I live in New York City at 636 West 174th Street. I am a student at the City College of New York.

Mr. ARENS. You are appearing today in response to a subpoena that was served upon you by the House Committee on Un-American Activities?

Mr. ROSEN. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. Sir, you are represented by counsel?

Mr. ROSEN. I am.

Mr. ARENS. Counsel, please identify yourself.

Mr. FORER. Joseph Forer.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Rosen, I lay before you a reproduction of a photograph taken in Moscow of a youth identified as Jacob Rosen, carrying a flag, which we understand from testimony was carried by you in the Youth Festival there, Old Glory, the flag of this country, which you dipped in salute to Khrushchev.

Kindly look at that picture and tell the committee whether or not that is your photograph carrying the flag of this Nation in a parade in Moscow.

Mr. FORER. Are you asking him whether he dipped that flag?

Mr. ARENS. Counsel, you will be advised that your sole and exclusive prerogative is to advise your client.

Mr. ROSEN. Are you asking me whether I dipped that flag?

Mr. ARENS. I am asking you whether that is a true and correct reproduction of you carrying our flag in a parade in Moscow.

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. ROSEN. First of all, I did not dip that flag. Second of all, I refuse to answer that question on the following grounds. First—

Mr. ARENS. Just a moment. Answer the question. Did you carry that flag in a parade, a youth parade, in Moscow?

Mr. FORER. He is refusing to answer it.

Mr. ROSEN. First, my conscience will not permit me to cooperate with any group that knowingly and willingly seeks the aid of a confessed and unrepentant Nazi. I will have no dealings with those who killed hundreds of thousands of American soldiers and murdered 6,000,000 of my people, the Jewish people, nor with those, such as this committee, who attempt to hide their crime and give them respectability.

Second, the first amendment to our Constitution specifically forbids Congress to legislate in the area of individual beliefs and associations.

This question, therefore, is outside the realm of the committee's legislative purpose, and is not pertinent.

Third, the first article of our Constitution forbids the passage of bills of attainder. The question again lies outside the committee's legislative purpose and is not pertinent.

Fourth—

Mr. ARENS. You are reading from a prepared statement?

Mr. ROSEN. Fourth, I have a real fear of lying witnesses and perjured testimony, both of which this committee fosters and thrives on. The atmosphere generated through this activity has all but stifled students' political thought and action, and I will have no part of it.

Fifth, it is public knowledge—

The CHAIRMAN. Before you go to the fifth, who is the witness who committed perjury?

(The witness conferred with his counsel).

Mr. FORER. Can't he finish his answer to this question first, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. ROSEN. Fifth, it is public knowledge that the World Youth Festival was a gathering of 36,000 young people from 131 countries. They met, and many were encouraged to attend by their own Governments because of a common desire to live in a peaceful world, and to meet, exchange ideas, and become friends with young people from the other nations of the world. These young people came together on their own volition.

In view of that I don't see how any questions about the festival are within the committee's jurisdiction, since attending such an event is certainly not only not un-American, but is profoundly American, pro-American; and the question is not pertinent.

Sixth, to attend the festival is merely to exercise your constitutional rights of speech and travel. This committee has no right to prevent young people from attending a festival, either through intimidation by inquiry or by legislation.

Finally, I assert my privilege under the fifth amendment to not be a witness against myself.

(Document marked "Rosen Exhibit No. 1," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. ARENS. There is a question outstanding by the chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. I asked him who the witnesses were who committed perjury before this committee.

Mr. DOYLE. And he also said we encouraged witnesses to lie.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all right, but I would like to know who committed perjury because we would like to do something about it.

Now, who committed perjury?

Mr. FORER. One at a time.

The CHAIRMAN. Who committed perjury before this committee? (The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. ROSEN. It is, Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, a matter of public knowledge that Harvey Matusow, Paul Crouch, Manning Johnson, committed perjury before this committee and this committee has done nothing about that situation.

Mr. ARENS. Did Albert Gaillard commit perjury this morning when he said he knew you as a member of the Communist Party and of a group of comrades who met in closed session with him when he was a Communist?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. ROSEN. I will refuse to answer that question for the reasons I have already given.

Mr. ARENS. I have here an article from the New York Times of July 30, 1957, written from Moscow by Max Frankel, in which he tells about the youth festival in Moscow:

Jacob Rosen, of 636 West 174th Street, Manhattan, a junior at City College, went without sleep to keep things moving. He carried a United States flag at yesterday's opening, dipping it in salute to Nikita S. Khrushchev and other Soviet dignitaries at the Lenin Stadium.

Is that account in error or is that correct?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. ROSEN. Well, Mr. Arens, the account is in error, I dipped no flag.

Mr. ARENS. Did you carry a United States flag in the parade?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. ROSEN. I will refuse to answer that question for the reasons previously cited, and particularly because, to my knowledge, it is not un-American activity to carry the American flag.

(Document marked "Rosen Exhibit No. 2," and retained in committee files.)

The CHAIRMAN. Then why don't you say "I carried it and I carried it with great pride"? Why don't you say that?

Mr. ROSEN. Mr. Chairman, I assume you are acquainted with the Constitution?

The CHAIRMAN. I know all about the Constitution.

Mr. ROSEN. You know it is improper to ask a question of a person who cites the constitutional privilege. That is just a trick on your part to try to get me to give up my Constitution rights, and it is in keeping with your general activities.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead, Mr. Arens.

Mr. ARENS. Did you travel on a United States passport to Red China?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. ROSEN. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds previously cited.

Mr. ARENS. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ROSEN. I refuse to answer that question, sir, on the grounds previously cited, and particularly because that is just the kind of question that, while it serves no legislative purpose of any valid sort is the kind of thing that this committee asks over and over again in an attempt to stigmatize individuals, to get them fired from their jobs, in Dutch with their communities, and so on and so forth.

The CHAIRMAN. The best way to remove any stigma whatsoever is——

Mr. ROSEN. ——is to remove this committee——

The CHAIRMAN. ——is to say "No."

Mr. ROSEN. The best way, Mr. Chairman, the American people feel the committee should be abolished.

The CHAIRMAN. Why didn't your congressman vote against this committee?

Mr. ROSEN. Because you, Mr. Walter, and the other members of this committee, I suppose, snuck, in my opinion, anyway, that appropriation through.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to make one statement.

Mr. ROSEN. Anyway, I will ask him.

The CHAIRMAN. You have said that this question concerning your affiliation with the Communist movement serves no legislative purpose. I will tell you what legislative purpose it serves:

If the Government of the United States is going to provide passage to duly accredited delegates, then we are going to have to know what kind of people go to speak for the United States, and certainly it is my hope that those spokesmen for the United States will not be members of a very small, thank God, minority of Communists in this country.

Go ahead, Mr. Arens.

Mr. ROSEN. Mr. Chairman, William Lloyd Garrison said some time ago——

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead, Mr. Arens.

Mr. ARENS. Do you presently have information respecting activities of the Communist Party among youth groups of New York City?

Mr. ROSEN. I will refuse to answer that question on the grounds previously cited.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that will conclude the staff interrogation of this witness.

The CHAIRMAN. The witness is excused.

Are there any more witnesses?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, we have one more.

Fred Jerome, please come forward and remain standing while the chairman administers an oath.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you raise your right hand?

Do you swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. JEROME. I so affirm.

TESTIMONY OF FRED JEROME, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, JOSEPH FORER

Mr. ARENS. Please identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. JEROME. My name is Fred Jerome. I live in New York City at 320 Second Avenue, and I am currently what you might say between occupations.

The CHAIRMAN. Withhold this question. I want to ask Mr. Forer a question.

(Discussion off the record.)

The CHAIRMAN. All right, Mr. Arens.

Mr. ARENS. You are appearing today in response to a subpoena that was served upon you by this committee?

Mr. JEROME. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. And you are represented by counsel?

Mr. JEROME. I am.

Mr. ARENS. Counsel, please identify yourself.

Mr. FORER. Joseph Forer.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Jerome, is there an organization with which you are connected that is located at Room 201, 421 Seventh Avenue, New York?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. JEROME. Mr. Arens, I would like to refuse to answer that question on the following grounds:

In the first place, I feel that this question has no bearing whatsoever on un-American activities and therefore is completely irrelevant to the supposed purpose of this committee, and, secondly, I would like to say that I will not put myself in the same category with an admitted Nazi and with someone who brags about his collaboration with those that killed six million of my people.

Thirdly, my conscience will not allow me, especially at a time when swastikas are reappearing on walls from Bonn and to Brooklyn, to cooperate with a committee which cooperates with the Nazi collaborator.

The CHAIRMAN. That is just simply not true, and you know it. That is the Communist Party line.

And, Mr. Arens, I don't want to hear another thing from this witness.

The committee is now adjourned to meet tomorrow morning at 10:00 o'clock.

(Committee members present at the time of recess: Representatives Walter, Doyle, Willis, and Johansen.)

(Whereupon, at 12:15 o'clock p.m., Wednesday, February 3, 1960, the subcommittee recessed, to reconvene at 10:00 o'clock a.m., Thursday, February 4, 1960.)

APPENDIX

The Communist-Directed International Youth Movement

The Communist grand design of world conquest (in its present stage of development) reserves an extremely important place for the so-called international front, which can be construed to be the backbone of a worldwide Communist fifth column.

As far back as in 1926, the ruling body of the international Communist conspiracy, the Comintern, clearly stated that:

The first part of our task is to build up, not only Communist organizations, but other organizations as well; above all, mass organizations sympathizing with our aims and able to aid us for special purposes. * * * Besides this, we require a number of more or less firmly established (organizational) fulcrums which we can utilize for our further work, insuring that we are not condemned to the task of only influencing the mass politically, merely to see this mass influence constantly slip through our hands. We must create a whole solar system of organizations and smaller committees around the Communist Party, smaller organizations, so to speak, actually working under the influence of the Party but not under its mechanical control. * * *

(*O. V. Kuusinen, International Press Correspondence VI, No. 28, April 1926—"Report of the Commission for Work Among the Masses."*)

Special attention is given to the youth sector of the international front Communist project, youth holding in its hands the future of mankind. The program of the prototype of the present-day Communist-directed international youth front, of the Young Communist International, as announced on the Fifth YCI Congress in Moscow in 1929, revealed the basic operating techniques of the Communist conspiracy against the youth of the world:

In its struggle against capitalism, the Young Communist League is continually compelled to combine its open legal activity with illegal and semi-legal work and therefore to overstep the limits laid down for it by bourgeois legality. * * * For this purpose it creates various legal organizations (including political ones) of the working youth. But the YCL looks upon these organizations only as legal forms of work for the illegal YCL. The founder of the Soviet State, V. I. Lenin, emphasized that:

The whole object of training and educating the youth of today should be to imbue them with Communist ethics. * * * Our morality is entirely subordinated to the interests of the class struggle. * * * The basis of Communist morality is the struggle for the consolidation of Communism.

(V. I. Lenin, "Tasks of the Youth League," *Collected Works*, Vol. 31.)

As in other fields of the Communist international front setup, the appeal to youth is provided by broad and/or specific humanitarian issues, which deserve the sympathy of all honest men—peace, disarmament, democracy, the economic, scientific and educational advancement of mankind—rather than by outright propagation of the Communist ideology as such. The purpose of the Communist-directed youth movement is not so much to convert youth directly to communism, as to expose it to Communist influence in order to be able first to mobilize youth for specific actions, and then gradually to enlist the young people into the ranks of active Communist sympathizers or even Communist Party members.

As early as 1932, Stalin declared that the establishment of Communism in colonial lands presented no problems, but the greatest difficulties lay in the question of how Communism would develop when the so-called underdeveloped countries obtained their independence. Stalin went on to point out that at this critical moment it would be *absolutely necessary to convince the youth in the aspiring countries that Communism was supreme and immediately to make them familiar with the Communist ideology. One way of doing this is by mass demonstrations on a large scale * * **

(*Voice of Youth*, No. 3, information newspaper of the Austrian youth and students (anti-Communist).)

Thus, this Stalin principle is the guiding rationale behind the Communist operations on the youth front.

The end of World War II saw the foundation of a whole series of international front organizations, all well camouflaged. Students, trade-unionists, and people of various professions were exhorted to new efforts in the interests of wider and closer international cooperation.

The Communists were soon able, with their experience of creating sham and camouflage organizations, to work up a nucleus of intense activity at the various Congresses and Assemblies of these organizations and thereby set the Communist stamp upon them. The Communists exerted their influence officially through the Government-controlled delegations from the Soviet Union and its constituent republics and through delegations from the people's democracies, and secretly through pressure applied by the disciplined Communist factions within the delegations from non-Communist countries. In this manner key positions could be secured on the committees and secretariats where the agenda was determined and the delegations selected and approved.

The World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY), the International Union of Students (IUS), the World Federation of Trade Unions, the World Council of Peace, Women's International Democratic Federation, the International Association of Democratic Lawyers, the International Organization of Journalists, the World Federation of Scientific Workers, are, among others, organizations either purely Communist or in Communist hands and subject to their control.

ORIGINS OF THE IUS AND THE WFDY

During the final months of World War II, the British National Union of Students called a meeting of students from allied countries to plan an international students federation. In view of the fact that there were numerous discrepancies in the conception of the international federation between non-Communist and the Communist student delegates, a resolution was adopted, "agreeing to disagree" on political issues. In the immediate future, though, everyone who disagreed with the Reds was called Fascist and was subject to expulsion from the federation.

The London Preparatory Committee decided to convene a student congress in London, England, in November of 1945. At the same time, the Czechoslovak Union of Students announced its plans to convene in the autumn of the same year an international student congress in Prague. After complicated talks between the London and the Prague groups, a decision was made to strive for mutual cooperation.

Consequently, the World Federation of Democratic Youth was founded on November 10, 1945, following a World Youth Conference held in London, a few days before the meeting that was to plan the International Union of Students. The World Youth Conference was convened on the initiative of Communist and Communist-controlled delegations from 63 countries, who allegedly represented 30 million young people. Yet, actually, only 3.5 percent of the delegates openly represented Communist organizations, while the rest of the delegates came from various religious organizations, Socialist and trade-union groups, sport federations, etc.

The Communist elements on the World Youth Conference and in the WFDY, organized at the conference, managed through skillful maneuvers, disciplined action, and voting as a bloc, to dominate the heterogeneous non-Communist majority and to obtain key offices in the WFDY.

Professor Harold Laski of the British Labor Party thus expressed his evaluation of the World Youth Conference:

During its progress it became clear, in fact, that the conference was dominated by the Communist youth, who had so arranged its programme and procedure that the strategic control of the conference's policy was almost wholly in their hands. It is not, therefore, surprising that the permanent organization which has emerged from the London Conference should be, for all intents and purposes, a body which is destined to play variations upon the Communist theme * * *.

(*Harold J. Laski, "Students and Politics," The Nation, New York, December 21, 1946.*)

The student constitutional convention which founded the International Union of Students took place in Prague in August 1946. Those who participated were drawn from all parts of the world and represented every major political and religious belief. Nevertheless, the congress ended with Communists in control of the IUS.

During the first post-war student deliberations in London, the Communists had been in the minority. But they obtained a majority on the International Preparatory Committee. This committee then gave unrestricted power to an executive; against the explicit decision

of the London meeting, moved the constitutional convention from Paris to Prague; by control of the credentials, assured Communist influence at the constitutional convention; by control of the preparations, abandoned an established agenda and substituted a new and controversial one on the day before the opening session; made no comprehensive report on its activities to the congress—the body to which, theoretically, it was responsible but which, in fact, the Communist-dominated committee now controlled.

The Communists' goal in the Prague conference was to make the student union a sufficiently disciplined body to be controlled from the center. They wanted the member organizations pledged to carry out all decisions of the executive body. This center, of course, was to be under clandestine party direction. Within 3 months of the end of the congress, the Communists took another step to secure control of the IUS. A secretariat was created and given authority "in the absence of the Executive, for development of all policies." (*Minutes of the IUS Executive Committee meeting, February 1947.*)

Let us now return to the WFDY. The first council meeting of the WFDY was held in July 1946 in Paris, where the secretariat had been originally established. Here the plan of holding a World Festival of Youth in Prague had been devised. The festival in Prague, organized by the WFDY in conjunction with the IUS, was convened in 1947; it became a Communist political demonstration—a huge statue of Stalin dominated the exhibition pavilion; Communist speakers were greeted with thunderous applause from the audience composed mostly of Communists. The most important exhibit was devoted to the USSR. Inside were illustrations of the ideal life said to be led by Soviet students and workers. In contrast was the pavilion given over to the United States. The federation had mounted there a portrayal of lynchings, racial disorders, and economic hardship.

While the festival was in progress, the WFDY council met, and its conclusions provided unnecessary confirmation of the Communist capture of the WFDY. The council approved a resolution stating that new efforts had been made by the imperialist circles of certain countries during the past year to fight against the unity of the nations which contributed most to victory in war. " * * * The needs of economic and financial aid of various countries * * * have been exploited to attempt to impress upon them policies subservient to American political and economic expansion * * * ." (*WFDY Council Meeting Report, "Tasks for Peace."*)

The WFDY and its member and parallel groups have organized the following major international Communist events and campaigns: International Conference of Working Youth in Warsaw in 1948, during which demonstrators paraded through the streets shouting "Long Live Stalin!" and "Down with the Marshall Plan!"; in 1949 the WFDY and the IUS organized the Second World Festival of Youth in Budapest. Both organizations also took an active part in the meeting of the Partisans of Peace which was arranged in Paris by the Communist World Council of Peace. The Third World Festival of Youth was held by the WFDY and the IUS in East Berlin in 1951.

Some of the meetings organized by the WFDY and the IUS had ramifications far beyond propaganda. In April 1948, for instance, a conference in Calcutta was sponsored by the WFDY. This meet-

ing provided a convenient camouflage for a conference of Southeast Asian Communist Party leaders; the Stalinist policy of violent revolt in Asia was discussed and accepted by these party leaders in private meetings. The Communist rebel risings in Malaya, Burma, and Indonesia followed within months.

The WFDY suffered a blow in January 1951 when the French Government ordered it to close its headquarters in Paris. The executive body of the WFDY issued a statement describing the French action as "another step of the American imperialists and their lackeys in the subservient preparation of a third world war." (*WFDY press statement, Paris, January 29, 1951.*) The WFDY moved then to Budapest and there held an executive committee meeting. The committee stated that "it is only in countries of peaceful construction, the USSR, the people's democracies, China, the German Democratic Republic, the People's Republic of Mongolia, that youth know another life, neither political nor economic oppression, nor unemployment or exploitation * * *." (*Resolution and decisions of the Executive Committee of the WFDY, Budapest.*)

The WFDY was in 1952 deprived by UNESCO of its consultative status, after having already been deprived of a similar status in January 1950 by the Economic and Social Council of U.N.O.

The WFDY in 1953 held the Fourth Youth Festival in Bucharest and convened the Conference for the Defense of the Rights of Youth; and in 1954, the International Gathering of Rural Youth. The WFDY also contributed to the organization of other Communist youth activities, such as the Seminary of Working Youth in Rumania, the Seminar of Rural Youth in Bulgaria, the Seminar of Sports in Hungary, and the Cultural Seminar in Italy.

In announcing preparations for the Bucharest festival, the Soviet *Komsomolskaia Pravda* declared: "It is the duty of the Komsomol organizations to train youth to hate the U.S.-British incendiaries." On June 9, 1953, a festival meeting of the Polish Youth Union was told: "Let us learn how to hate the survivors of capitalism. * * * Let us expose and smash the agents of American world incendiaries."

The IUS, in 1949, scheduled its second congress to meet in Prague in August 1950, which was notable for the expulsion of the Yugoslav students which closely followed the expulsion of Yugoslavia from the Cominform; Yugoslav students were denounced by Red East European delegations as "Fascist agents, imperialist servants, betrayers of peace." (*The International Union and the Cominform, document issued by the Central Board of the Yugoslav Union of Students, Belgrade, May 1952.*) After the USSR had re-established relations with Tito's Yugoslavia in 1955, the IUS conceded that it had erred in respect to the Yugoslav students, who were now invited to rejoin. Similarly, the WFDY discovered "fascism" in the Yugoslav youth organization in 1948 and subsequently expelled its Yugoslav affiliate. And, similarly, it discovered in 1955 that it had erred.

The WFDY and the IUS in 1955 held a World Festival of Youth in Warsaw. The newspaper of the Polish Communist Party, *Tribuna Lidu*, said in connection with the festival:

The people must understand that the Festival is not merely an opportunity for singing and amusing themselves, but principally a world political event. * * * The international significance

of the Festival is such that not only the youth organizations, but the Party itself should be actively concerned with the preparations. * * * It is necessary to unmask the enemy to the young people and teach them to hate him * * *.

The Moscow festival in 1957 was organized again by the WFDY and the IUS and was distinguished first of all by the efforts to re-establish Soviet ideological position and to strengthen Soviet prestige after the disturbances in Poland and in Hungary in 1956, and also by the formulation of plans for the extension and building up of Communist influence among the Africans, Asians, and Latin Americans. The IUS convened at the same time its fourth congress.

The formal ideological program of the WFDY officially avoids Marxism and communism in order to make the Communist character of the federation less conspicuous. As a matter of fact, to lure into the federation youth of all countries, nationalities, races, religious faiths, and political convictions, the Warsaw council of the WFDY (August 1955) was formulated and its congress adopted directives concerning a limited affiliation on the principal points of the WFDY program. The youth groups of the non-Communist world, which would be appalled by calls to participate in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, and capitalism, were offered an opportunity to affiliate themselves with the WFDY on the basis of the community of interests in such seemingly neutral fields as defense of the rights of youth, the struggle for peace, and the recognition of the necessity of coexistence and cooperation between nations with different political systems.

The growth of affiliations to the WFDY (although the figures are naturally greatly inflated) shows that this Communist-directed federation is able to command considerable interest in the youth world:

Year	Young people affiliated with WFDY	Number of countries represented
1945.....	30,000,000	63
1949.....	60,000,000	72
1952.....	75,000,000	88
1956.....	85,000,000	97

Representation at the festivals is also expressed in significantly high numbers:

Festival held in—	Year	Representation of young people	Number of countries represented
Prague.....	1947	17,000	71
Budapest.....	1949	10,300	90
East Berlin.....	1951	26,000	104
Bucharest.....	1953	29,000	111
Warsaw.....	1955	30,000	114
Moscow.....	1957	34,000	131
Vienna.....	1959	18,364	112

It is characteristic that all of the previous festivals, with the exception of the Seventh Festival in Vienna, were convened in the capitals of Communist countries. There have been many speculations as to the reason for holding the last festival outside of the Iron Cur-

tain. One thought in that respect is expressed in the *IUSY Survey* No. 1, 1959, a publication of the International Union of Socialist Youth, which is an organization actively opposed to communism:

The decision to let the coming WYF take place in Vienna means for the Communists an experiment to which they had to concede whether they liked it or not, but which definitely does not make them very happy. Without doubt this has come about through the attempts of fellow-travelers and neutralists who wanted to prove that they were not supporting Communists.

Notwithstanding the vehement assertions of the Communist press that the Vienna festival has demonstrated to the whole world the victory of the festival idea, it can be concluded that the results of the festival did not meet with Communist expectations. Thousands of festival participants from behind the Iron Curtain have seen the free West, have talked to anti-Communist youth, have made comparisons between what they see at home and what they see in the "rotten capitalist West." They have been able to see for themselves that their press is systematically deceiving them about the conditions behind the Iron Curtain. They have returned to their subjugated homelands enlightened to a certain degree.

It is hinted that the next festival in 1961 might be organized in Rome. One thing, though, is certain—that the festivals, originally planned as offensive weapons of communism, are now on the defensive. Beginning with the Moscow festival, truth about the West and about the Western interpretation of international events has been carried by the Western festival participants to the isolated people of the Red empire.

Both the WFDY and the IUS possess elaborate apparatus through which they carry out their brainwashing campaigns. The WFDY, for instance, offers its members the following services: *Activity of its bureaus*—Press and Information Bureau; the Culture and Cultural Exchange Department; the Sports and Open-Air Activities Department; Children's Bureau; *its commissions*—Regional Commissions working with the youth organizations; Rights of Youth Commission; Girls' Commission; International Youth Solidarity Fund Commission; *its service*—Pen-Pals Service; *its publications* (in all major languages of the world)—the magazine "World Youth"; the specialized periodical bulletins "Working Youth," "Rural Youth," "Youth and Sport," "Culture and Youth," "The Information Bulletin," bulletin for the leaders of children's organizations; publicity and documentary materials (posters, folders, pamphlets). The publications of the WFDY are for the most part attractively edited and can be obtained free and unsolicited or for a nominal subscription fee; they are mailed absolutely free of charge to a great many youth organizations outside of the Iron Curtain.

The official headquarters of the WFDY is presently in Budapest, with regional offices in some principal cities of the Communist and non-Communist countries.

The seat of the IUS is in Prague, which is one of the main centers of the international Communist-front organizations.

The WFDY is a federation of youth organizations of many countries; some of the member organizations themselves have an international character. All official youth organizations behind the Iron

Curtain are automatically members of the WFDY; in the Western world, affiliated with the WFDY are almost exclusively Communist, Socialist, and other "progressive" youth groups. The IUS, which claims to be *the* organization most representative of the student youth of the world, can claim in the non-Communist world the membership of insignificant groups in their home countries, small pro-Communist or left-wing organizations. In African and Asiatic countries, as well as in the Middle East, however, even non-Communist youth groups are affiliated with the WFDY and IUS, being drawn to the Communist camp by broad "humanitarian" propaganda statements of the Reds, directed against colonialism, imperialism, racial discrimination, war danger, and the armaments race although presently we can observe a cooling-off process in the romance between the Communists and the Middle East nations.

Soviet youth organizations play a central part in the international youth front. Practically all international youth congresses and conferences are attended by delegates from the USSR, i.e., at the Conference of Youth of Africa and Asia, held in Cairo, where youth of 50 nations was represented by predominantly Communist and pro-Communist delegates, the voice of the USSR was heard through a delegation from the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic. This delegation was headed by a deputy of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and a secretary of Komsomol—Murtazaev, who in his speech stated, "the youth from two continents became considerable force in the general struggle for peace, against colonialism, for national independence and progress * * *." (*Ogonek* No. 8/59.)

It is emphasized again and again that the Soviet youth organizations are not only willing, but even eager, to maintain friendly relations with youth groups which do not embrace the Communist world outlook:

In the interest of peace and friendship Soviet youth cooperates with youth and student organizations of diverse political trends and religious beliefs; we maintain friendly contacts with over 600 organizations in about 100 countries, many Asian-African Associations included. The contacts are growing in scale and scope * * *.

(*Information Bulletin* No. 4/59, published by the Committee of Youth Organizations of the USSR.)

The above statement can provide us with only a glimpse of the tremendous scope of the Communist brainwashing campaign on the youth front. Yet, in order to cover up the true nature of the Communist international youth front, and to make it more acceptable to non-Communists, the leading role of the Soviet youth organizations is seldom mentioned directly.

At present there is no available official list of organizations which are affiliated with the WFDY and the IUS, with the exception of the "Handbook of Asian Youth and Student Organizations," which was published in 1958 by the WFDY in Budapest. The information provided by this booklet is confined to southeast and northeast Asia, 95 percent of the organizations listed in the book are members of the WFDY or the IUS, the rest are either sympathetic toward the aims of the Communist international front or consist of such officially neutral organizations as the YMCA and the YWCA of the Philippines. The information in the handbook is provided about the following countries:

DATA CONCERNING YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES

Burma, 7, (including such opposites as the Socialist Youth of Burma and the Young Monks' Association); Cambodia, 2, (one of them—Royal Cambodian Socialist Youth); Ceylon, 6; India, 11; Indonesia, 12; Japan, 14; Malaya, 3; Nepal, 4; Pakistan, 4; Philippines, 5, (2 of the listed are YMCA and YWCA); Thailand, 3, (2 of the listed are YMCA and YWCA); Red China, 3; North Korea, 1; Laos, 1; Uzbek SSR, 1; and Vietnam, 4, (one of them—The Association of Vietnamese Scouts—Hoi Huong Dao Vietnam).

Information provided about the youth organizations listed in the handbook is very revealing as to their Communist or pro-Communist nature, i.e.:

Khmer Students Union (Sahakheap Nicett Khmer) of Cambodia, comprising "70 percent of Khmer students in Europe, mainly in France," states in its declaration of policy—"the principal threat against our new independence is in the actions of the United States Government, which is applying both internal corruption and direct intimidation through the intermediary of the pro-SEATO government. Their aim is to break the unity of the people of Khmer for peace, national independence and neutrality * * *."

Central Chorus of Japan (Nippon Chuo Gasshodan)—"In 1950, the hated Korean war began. Many persons in the democratic movement were oppressed by American militarism. In the 'Singing Voice' movement, the National Council of Choirs was organized. The slogan 'Singing Voice is the power of peace' was launched * * *." Under the influence of the Central Chorus' performances "The people's fight against American militarism, which spread on a large scale, also arose in Sungawa and Okinawa (the Cyprus of Asia) * * *."

All Japan Federation of Student Autonomies (Zen Nihon Gakusei Jichikai Sorenzo-Zengakuren), IUS member, states: "Since its constitution and in spite of the constant repression by the American authorities and the Japanese Government, the Zengakuren has not ceased to fight against the policy of war, and against their anti-democratic policies * * * it has undertaken activities and struggles, e.g., the activity against the American Eels who came to Japan with the task of liquidating the University autonomies and expelling the progressive professors from the Universities; the fight against the war in Korea provoked by American imperialism, etc."

The member organizations of the IUS usually claim to be the *main* representative bodies of the students of their respective countries. Mostly these claims are exaggerated; yet these groups strive to infiltrate the ruling bodies of other student organizations in order to induce them to affiliate themselves into one, IUS-dominated, National Union of Students. Obviously, to be able to achieve the infiltration and the consequent domination of the rival student groups, the Communists need cadres of trained propagandists and organizers. A partial insight into this procedure can be gained from the report on the 15th Conference of the All-India Students' Federation (AISF) which was held in the city of Udaipur in January 1959. (*IUS "News Service," March 1959, No. 5-6*):

A unanimous resolution set as the task of AISF to disseminate among the Indian people the ideas of scientific socialism and, in this respect, to develop cadres and organizers who will become

an example of self-sacrifice and model workers inspired with the lofty ideals of service to the people. * * *

On Students' Unions and NUS a resolution states that student unity is one of the most vital issues of the day, because without a powerful united students' movement and organization, the hopes and aspirations of the students for a better life and study conditions cannot be achieved. Since students' organizations in India do not unite all sections of the student community and since students, regardless of their ideological differences, still consider the students' unions as their representative organizations, the present task of AISF is to develop these unions as more active and powerful organizations. Therefore, in those states where democratic (read "progressive," leftist, Communist) unions exist they should be made more active; where they are less democratic the Federation's task is to make them more democratic and more mobile; in places where there is no union, great efforts must be made to establish one. As regards the establishment of an all-India organization, the resolution notes that although there now exist three rival NUSes, each claiming to be of a representative character, they are in fact all "non-functioning, top-heavy entities which are becoming more and more bodies on paper only * * *." "It is urgently necessary * * * for the AISF to concentrate its efforts so that in the near future a healthy widely-based federation of union emerges * * *."

This then is, in the usual Communist doubletalk, the blueprint for the domination of the various non-Communist student groups.

As has been stated before, the WFDY and the IUS are able to drag into their net certain youth groups by appealing to their idealistic aspirations through such slogans as coexistence, cooperation, unity of youth interests, international friendship, cultural exchanges, anti-colonialism, denunciation of imperialism, struggle for peace, disarmament, etc. Communism, as such, or the Marxist ideology are practically never mentioned directly, but the fact that the initiative and the leadership and the propaganda are from the Communist camp is the best propaganda of communism.

The various youth and student groups of the world are systematically bombarded by an incessant flood of Communist-tinged propaganda:

Students' organizations, such as the International Union of Students, *World Student News* and the *World Youth* and special brochures published by the Research and Information Commissions inform the world about student struggle and sufferings. Hardly a month passes that we don't send a delegation abroad to inform the student movements of other countries and try to get their support * * *.

(*World Student News*, No. 2/9.)

The publications of both the WFDY and the IUS are varied. Some contain much propaganda, i.e., the *World Student News* and the *World Youth*; some contain no propaganda at all, i.e., *Medical Student* and *About Young Girls*. Yet all serve the same purpose: First, to interest youth in receiving the material, even if it does not contain a trace of propaganda; and then, gradually, to include the individuals or groups on the mailing lists for the more propagandistic

publications and concrete individual appeals and approaches. Acceptance of the nonpolitical material serves as a bridge to a later brainwashing campaign.

A special place among the WFDY and the IUS publications is occupied by the Polish magazine "Młodzi Świat" (World Youth) which is published in cooperation with the Central Editorial Office of the monthly "Jeunesse du Monde." "Młodzi Świat" is one of the few magazines published for youth behind the Iron Curtain which can be objectively considered to be of interest to literate youth in every corner of the world. Each issue contains articles written in Polish, English, Spanish, Esperanto; and some in Czech, Italian, Serbian, and other languages. The cover of the magazine, as well as many of the illustrations and some of the articles, deals with the ever-popular theme of sex appeal. Only seldom is political material introduced and, when such is the case, it is presented in a striking, provocative, thought-stimulating manner. The material includes articles on such things as sports, esthetics, social psychology, philosophy, dreams and their interpretation, emancipation of women, jazz, Charlie Chaplin, movies and Brigitte Bardot, philately, premarital sexual relations, divorce, teenagers' problems, etc.

An important section of the magazine is occupied by "Pen-Pals Service." Each issue of the magazine contains several hundred addresses of youths in all parts of the world. It is expected that, through correspondence with Communist youth, the youth of the Western and of the so-called uncommitted nations will be brainwashed into believing that communism provides the human race with the best of the possible worlds.

Personal contact through exchange of letters is extremely effective. Trading of stamps, pictures of movie stars, and viewcards is accompanied by such comments from the Communist pen-pals as, "All the people of the world should live in peace * * *. We are peace-loving people * * * you also desire peace * * * if only your vicious Wall Street sharks would stop keeping the world on the brink of war * * * you are bragging about your democracy, why don't you speak up then for the cause of peace? * * *"

Exchange of letters between those professing interest in theatre, film, student and youth affairs, arts, history, literature, economy, social sciences and contemporary politics is obviously even more conducive to the presentation of the Communist point of view.

Naturally, the so-called peace propaganda occupies the central place in the material contained in the WFDY and the IUS publications. It may be naively supposed that peace and its propaganda is by nature a neutral issue, that is to say an issue which can be in the same fashion espoused by all the people of both contemporary principal political camps. Yet even a superficial study of Communist peace propaganda shows that their peace propaganda is actually one of the strongest and most dangerous means of anti-U.S. and anti-Western propaganda. It is stated again and again that the Soviet Union and the other countries of the Communist camp are in the forefront of the fighters for peace, willing to discuss its terms with the imperialists, even willing to make some concessions, while the imperialists, the monopolists of Wall Street, and the warmongers from the Pentagon are sabotaging all Communist peace efforts, being interested only in

the accumulation of profits from the armaments race. This, of course, puts the immediate blame for the world tensions on the Western camp. But even when the "culprits" are not directly mentioned and the blame is put on "certain reactionary forces" while, of course, there is no uncertainty about the object of praise, the propaganda effect is not diminished but rather increased in the same manner as when in our Madison Avenue advertising the glorified product is being compared to some inferior "Brand X."

Some of these appeals for "peace" are contained in an IUS publication, "Students for Peace," i.e., from the appeal of the executive committee of the IUS to the students of the world:

* * * At the beginning of the New Year, 1958, we solemnly appeal to the good sense and human feelings of all of you * * * a grave danger confronts the perspective of peace and prosperity, a danger created by the preparations for atomic war. The tremendous development of nuclear weapons, the fantastic increase of their destructive power and, above all, the endless continuation of the nuclear weapon race represents an ever present threat to world peace * * *. Fellow students all over the world, considering that the immediate prohibition of nuclear tests has especial importance at this particular moment, we appeal to you to initiate actions for this cause now, without hesitation. We appeal to you all—

Let us demand the prohibition of the production and use of nuclear weapons, disarmament, and the conclusion of an international agreement for the immediate banning of nuclear tests!

Let us oppose installation and expansion of foreign military bases with nuclear weapons! * * *

To the same effect and almost in the same words was the joint statement of 15 Asian and African student organizations on peace and the relaxation of international tension. (*March 1957, Prague.*) Other appeals spell out the name of the sinister force which prevents the peace-loving people of the world to enjoy the blessings of peace, i.e., extract from the appeal of the National Union of Brazilian Students to the Brazilian people:

* * * the news of the agreements between the Governments of Brazil and the United States regarding the establishment of missile bases on the territory of Fernando de Noronha making out of our country an unavoidable target for atom bombs in the case of a third world war and exposing our people * * * to its criminal effects, makes us aware that we are suffering from the effects of the one battle that has been lost by UNEB—the battle against the military pact signed in 1953 * * *.

Appeal of the Rangoon University Students' Union to the World Powers:

* * * the division of the world into opposing blocs, the desire of certain forces to preserve the colonial system in old and new forms, their attempts to resolve international contradictions from position of strength, the arms race, the A and H bomb tests, war pacts like SEATO, NATO, Baghdad, Eisenhower Doctrine * * * create in the world an atmosphere of uncertainty and constant threats, hamper the solution of the problems of students and confront mankind with the danger of atomic war * * *.

Statement of the General Union of Iraqi Students:

* * * The international tension and the cold war which has continued for so long a time holds back the aspirations of nations for freedom and independence and attempts to maintain its influence with steel and fire * * *. As a result of this situation **THE POWER WHICH CALLS FOR WAR** has established a chain led by the USA and Britain, in cooperation with its internal gents, linked the name of this pact to Baghdad * * *.

From the letter of the Central Committee of the Korean Democratic Youth League to youth and student organizations of other countries:

* * * the American imperialist army is still occupying South Korea. Moreover, the American imperialists have of late introduced atomic weapons into South Korea, are press-ganging all the South Korean youth and students into the army and frenziedly preparing for a new war, thus gravely menacing peace in Korea and Asia * * * the U.S. Army which has brought unbearable sufferings to the Korean people and is menacing peace has no reason nor ground to stay continually in the southern part of our country * * *.

The WFDY and the IUS press pay close attention to international problems, focusing especially on those which are of direct and immediate concern to youth. Photographs of student demonstrations, of police actions against students, of poor conditions under which students of various countries are compelled to study and live, are numerous and eloquently presented. Most of the time comparison is made with the allegedly carefree and happy conditions of youth life in the USSR and in the "people's democracies." Emphasis on the youth of Asia, Africa, and Latin America is becoming stronger every day.

A typical analysis of the international situation is contained in the "Appeal for celebration of the month of solidarity with the youth fighting against colonialism" and in the "Resolution on the international students' peace conference":

The Executive Committee of the IUS, having discussed the development of the students' struggle for peace, the immediate cessation of atomic tests and for the banning of atomic tests and the use of nuclear weapons * * * resolves: * * * to observe International Student Week (Nov. 10-17, 1959) as a week of peace and friendship, and to organize on this occasion the broadest possible actions in defense of peace.

Subsequent lines of this document clarify what is meant by *peace and friendship* and what are the actions which are supposed to promote these; the *youth of the world is urged to fight* against the policy of the USA and other free nations. This is peace and friendship a la Khrushchev. The IUS urges in this connection—

to support the people's fight for the peaceful reunification of Germany * * * to support the students and the people of Japan in their fight against the planned revision of U.S.-Japan Security Pact and for its abrogation since such a plan could lead to the revival of militarism and constitute a serious threat to peace in the Far East; to demand the simultaneous abrogation of all existing military pacts * * * to demand the immediate withdrawal of the nuclear-armed U.S. troops from South Korea and protest

against the colonial wars in Algeria, Kenya, Kamerun and Cypress; to call for an immediate and permanent ban on nuclear weapon tests and a ban on the use and production of nuclear weapons, and the destruction of all existing stockpiles of such weapons; to oppose the French plan to carry out tests in the Sahara * * *.

* * * considering that the recent tensions in the Middle East which threaten peace in this region and throughout the world have been the result of imperialist attempts to crush the independence and sovereignty of the Arab states and especially of the Iraqi Republic through conspiracies and bilateral military treaties concluded between the imperialist powers and some governments of this region, such as that between the U.S. and Iran, the U.S. and Turkey, the U.S. and Pakistan, and that which is being prepared between the U.S. and Israel * * * condemns these imperialist conspiracies and military treaties vigorously and supports the struggle of the Iraqi students and people to safeguard and consolidate their Republic against all militarist attempts * * *.

And the analysis of the world events continues in the same vein of vicious and direct accusations against the USA.

All countries and organizations which in one way or another are either connected with the USA, or are not connected with the USSR, are frequently attacked by the Communist-front youth press. Of course, the United States of America receives concentrated attention. The emphasis is usually made on those issues which are of immediate interest to the youth of colonial and otherwise dependent countries, and to the youth of countries recently risen from such status.

For instance, the (IUS) *News Service* No. 21-22 of November 1958, carried a report on a demonstration in Washington, D.C., which was held on October 25, 1958, and which was attended by 6,000 students from Chicago, New York, Baltimore, Cleveland, and Detroit. The demonstration was organized under the slogan "Youth March for Integrated Schools." Representatives of the demonstrators were not allowed to see President Eisenhower, having been told that the President was busy playing golf. Later in the day 10,000 people attended a mass meeting at the Lincoln Memorial Monument. One of the speakers, the famous Negro singer Harry Belafonte, said that Eisenhower, by not meeting the committee of the marchers, had made a gesture which would have far-reaching significance for millions throughout the world.

Withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Korea urged—Several hundred students, from over ten Asian, African and Latin American countries, now studying in Czechoslovakia held a rally in Prague to voice their demand for the withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Korea * * * speakers at the rally condemned the U.S. imperialists' policy of war and colonialism.

(*News Service* No. 2, Jan. 1959.)

American University expels students for participation in strike—* * * 150 students * * * of American University in Beirut were expelled from school for taking part in the strike in support of the students of the Lebanese Academy. * * * A statement issued by the students said that their struggle was part of the liberation movement and they would not give way to imperialism * * *.

The Lebanese paper "Al Sahafa" commenting on the expulsion wrote:

The measure taken by the American University of Beirut showed that the conspiracy against Lebanese culture was not French alone but both French and American * * *.

(*News Service No. 3, Feb. 1959.*)

In the (WFDY) *Information Service* of January 1959 the youth of the world was informed of another racial discrimination incident in the USA, namely, that:

* * * recently in North Carolina two young children were sent to a correction home for no particular crime except for the "crime" of having black skin. The official charge against them was that they had kissed a "white" girl during a game in which they were all playing. This was then interpreted as attempted rape * * *.

All WFDY organizations were urged to send protest telegrams and letters to the proper U.S. authorities.

Every occurrence in the U.S. school life, which may be used as anticapitalist propaganda and which may be considered to be of interest to youth, is dug up by the editors of the Red youth press in order to serve as an indictment of the Western political system, i.e., the (IUS) *News Service* No. 5-6 of March 1959, carries two news items about the school situation in Chicago—one of them is a report that the tuition fees which the students of Chicago University have to pay will go up \$960 a year. Another article informs the readers that Chicago teachers demand adequate salaries. The beginning of the article reads:

* * * five thousand teachers, Negro and white side by side, marched on January 30th in a nine-block-long line around the Board of Education office in Chicago in protest against the Board's failure to comply with the wage demands of the unionized teachers * * *.

These reports, although probably based on facts, serve as powerful propaganda; only derogatory facts about the West are selected and massed to produce a distorted picture of the situation in the free world. The editors do not have to plug the Communist ideology, praise their own system; their "exposé" of the West is supposed to turn the sympathies of the readers toward the Communist system.

U.S. "aggressiveness" is one of the primary hobbyhorses of the international Communist-front propaganda machine. Typical article on that theme appeared in the *World Youth* magazine, No. 2, Feb. 1959, under the title "Berlin in the Focus of World Interest," attacking the U.S. "occupation forces." The article contains information on the infamous tunnel which the Americans have allegedly built on the border of their sector of Berlin and equipped with machinery for tapping all telephone cables and intercepting thus all telephone conversations of the Communists. It is further stated that there are more than 80 Western espionage agencies in West Berlin. The agents of these espionage centers all have allegedly long criminal records. The Foreign Legion is accused of "head hunting" in West Berlin, luring and kidnaping young Germans for service in North Africa. The Western powers are accused of breaking the Potsdam Agreement by allowing 114 Fascist and militarist organizations to carry on their activities without restrictions.

Canada, neighbor and close ally of the United States, also receives considerable attention. The WFDY magazine *Young Worker* reports that:

* * * no matter where one travels in Canada today, he is confronted with a word which has some ugly connotations—"UNEMPLOYMENT." It is an old word with a "1958" meaning. The meaning is the thought of no job at a time when the cost of living is at an all-time high * * *.

Next to the USA, the main villain of the free world, according to the Communists, is West Germany. It is constantly attacked and vilified. The IUS pamphlet *Students for Peace* contains a letter of the Student Council of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Union of Youth (CSM) to all National Student Unions, dealing with the international situation. It is stated in the letter that the Student Council:

* * * was compelled to take a stand on the decision of the Federal German Parliament to equip the Bundeswehr with nuclear weapons. We protest vigorously against such a decision * * *. We, Czechoslovak students * * * have not forgotten * * * many instances of indiscriminate brutality (which) occurred in many countries occupied by the German fascists during the second world war. Many instigators of these crimes which the entire civilized world and the students from all countries condemned, again occupy the most important posts in the West German Army. Atomic weapons in their hands therefore constitute a serious threat to peace and culture * * *.

Here once again the Communists resort to demagoguery and hypocrisy. They speak of Nazi brutality as if the whole civilized world could forget for one moment that long before Hitler appeared on the political scene, the Communists horrified the world by their ruthless policy of mass extermination of all their opponents—real, potential, and imaginary—by their slave state methods, by the institution of concentration camps with millions of wretched and unmercifully exploited inhabitants. The Communists do not hesitate to assume the right to accuse others of brutality at a time when the memory of the blood bath in Hungary is still fresh in the minds of all people. Moreover, West Germany is equated with Hitlerism and the world is constantly reminded to beware of the ferocious Germans.

All other countries connected with the USA are constantly under concentrated attack. Numerous derogatory articles are published on France, Spain, South Korea, Japan, South Vietnam, Pakistan, Philippines, Iraqi, Madagascar, Argentina, Cuba, Bolivia, to mention just some of the countries in the focus of the Communist propaganda machine. The following statement, for instance, comes from Peru:

Students of Peru are ready to help, whenever need arises, to fight against those who resort to exploitation and to war, to the subjugation and humiliation of our people.

The leftist Peruvian student group claims that Latin Americans are "being victims of national oligarchy" and have:

exchanged love for homeland for worship of despotism, while, outside, imperialism, exploitation and insatiable greed prevail * * *.

* * * a popular Mexican saying can be applied to people of Latin America—"they have the misfortune of being very far from heaven and very near to US * * *."

The students are invited to work in the left wing party as "it is the only way to fight imperialism * * *." (*World Student News*.)

In the WFDY and the IUS press the short period since the Vienna festival has been devoted largely to convincing the participants that, notwithstanding the negative reaction of the greater part of world youth and despite the active anti-festival campaign, the Seventh Youth Festival has been a huge success.

* * * two worlds have met in Vienna. One of them employed lies, paid agents and airplanes with inscriptions "Ohne uns" (without us). But our words and songs have achieved a decisive victory * * *.

(*Mlada Fronta No. 200, Aug. 22, 1959.*)

From the 10th to the 16th of August the council of the WFDY had been convened in Prague. For hundred twenty-three delegates and observers, representing 285 member and nonmember organizations from 93 countries, participated in the Assembly. It was established there that in the period of 1957-59 the membership increased by 2 million to 87 million, the increase allegedly being due to the successes of WFDY contacts with the youth from Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

Participation of observers from the Council of Japanese Youth, which unites 80 percent of Japanese youth organizations, of representatives of the youth of the Indian Congress Party, of youth from Congo, of the Council of Cuban Youth, is supposed to represent factual proof of the WFDY advances on the world youth scene. (*Mlada Fronta No. 196, Aug. 18, 1959.*)

The Fifth Assembly of the WFDY has accepted 25 resolutions in the "basic direction of friendship and cooperation." The major points of the resolutions are:

- To fight for the cessation of nuclear weapon tests;
- To fight against militarism, particularly German militarism;
- To support the struggle for self-determination, for the liquidation of colonialism and of imperialist domination;
- To organize a World Youth Forum, which would be open to all youth groups of the world . . .

(*Mlada Fronta No. 195, Aug. 16, 1959.*)

There is every reason to believe that, if the present soft policy toward communism, of cultural exchanges and increased travel between the free world and the Iron Curtain countries is continued, the Communists will be able to exercise an even greater influence upon the youth of the non-Communist world. Every possibility of approaching youth, undermining resistance to communism, instilling exaggerated respect for the "achievements of the Communist system" will be employed in order to strengthen the international Communist youth front, preparing it for the day of the last and decisive assault against the free world.

A partial list of the Communist propaganda coming into the United States through various ports

1. *The Key To A Big Heart* (a book about Soviet youth), by Yury Tsenin, Moscow 1959.
2. *The Way To Further Economic Progress* (for the further development of the productive forces, for technical progress in all branches of the national economy), by N. S. Khrushchov at the Plenary Meeting of the C.C.-C.P.S.U. June 29, 1959.
3. *Health Protection in the Soviet Union, (1917-1957)*, by N. Vinogradov, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow 1957.
4. *Economy of the Soviet Union, Past and Present*, by D. G. Zhimerin. Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow 1958.
5. *The Soviet Budget*, by V. Lavrov, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow 1959.
6. *The Great Seven-Year Plan* (album of diagrams on the economic development of the USSR in 1959-1965). Soviet Information Bureau, 1959.
7. *News Service*, published by the Press and Information Department, International Union of Students, Prague 2, Czechoslovakia.
8. *World Student News*, published by the International Union of Students.
9. *Czechoslovak Youth*, published by the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Union of Youth.
10. *Education in the U.S.S.R.* (U.S.S.R. section at the Universal and International Exhibition of Brussels, 1958).
11. *Information Bulletin* (Committee of Youth Organizations of the U.S.S.R.). Moscow 1959.
12. *WFDY News*, published by the World Federation of Democratic Youth, Budapest, Hungary.
13. *Assembly* (of the World Federation of Democratic Youth, Prague, August 10-16, 1959, 5th assembly of the member organizations of the WFDY. The problems of peace, national independence and the responsibility of the young generation. Economic, social, and cultural problems that face youth in the world of today).
14. *Youth Life*, published by the People's Youth of Yugoslavia.
15. *Control Figures for the Economic Development of the U.S.S.R. for 1959-1965*, by N. S. Khrushchov (report delivered at the 21st extraordinary congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, January 27, 1959). Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow 1959.
16. *Radar*, Warsaw, Poland.
17. *World Youth*, published by the World Federation of Democratic Youth, Budapest, Hungary.

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